

EAST EUROPE

A Monthly Review of East European Affairs



THE USES OF HISTORY

POLAND GOES TO SEA

CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S REBELLIOUS ARTISTS

TWO STORIES *by Tibor Dery*

The Road From Paradise

Story of a Young Peasant

The Courting of Guinea

The German Question

Entering Communism

MAY 1960

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EAST EUROPE

Formerly NEWS FROM BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN

CONTENTS

THE MONTH IN REVIEW	1
POLAND GOES TO SEA	3
CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S REBELLIOUS ARTISTS	6
STORY OF A YOUNG PEASANT	13
THE COURTING OF GUINEA	14
TWO STORIES BY TIBOR DERY	16
ENTERING COMMUNISM	22
BULGARIA'S "NYLON INTELLIGENTSIA"	25
HISTORY REVISITED	28
CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS	36
TEXTS AND DOCUMENTS	48
THE ROAD FROM PARADISE	55

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THE MONTH IN REVIEW

TO THE SUMMIT

WHEN THE LEADERS of the Western powers sit down with Premier Khrushchev in Paris on May 16, they will face a blunt negotiator who talks as though his hand held nothing but aces. Khrushchev's public performances are all the more impressive when one remembers what he has accomplished since the last summit conference in 1955. In five short years he has fought down an assault by his own colleagues in the Kremlin, suppressed two revolutions in Eastern Europe, torn up a Five Year Plan, reorganized the Soviet economy, shot a rocket to the moon, dined with President Eisenhower in the White House, and extended Moscow's influence southward toward the Red Sea and the Gulf of Guinea.



The Western leaders represent a congeries of political forces and opinions; they are dedicated to a philosophy which seeks to harmonize the play of private interests in terms of the public welfare. Khrushchev, on the other hand, represents a movement which deliberately suppresses any private action that does not contribute to the accumulation of State power. In the vast reaches between the Elbe and the Pacific everything is at least superficially in order, and a billion people labor for a political party that promises heaven on earth for those who obey its directives. Boiled down, the directives are: (1) build Socialism and (2) enter into Communism.

In Khrushchev's country the era of Communism is said to be almost at hand (see the article by a Soviet professor beginning on page 22). In the East European countries that Khrushchev dominates, the Communists are still engaged in building "Socialism." This process consists simply of extirpating all private ownership of the means of production, including the political suppression of millions of peasant farmers. From Khrushchev's viewpoint, the Socialist society is not complete until the last peasant has been pushed into a collective farm and made a part of what Marxists consider to be scientific Socialist agriculture.

GERMANY

ON APRIL 14 the East German press announced that all farmland in that part of Germany governed by the Pankow regime had passed into the "Socialist sector." This ended a remarkable campaign which began after the return of Ulbricht and Grotewohl from Moscow last February, where they had attended a Soviet bloc conference on agriculture. The East German collectivization drive reached its peak at a time when the Communists usually leave the peasants alone with their spring cultivating. Its extraordinary nature was obviously dictated by the international political situation. As First Secretary Ulbricht himself admitted, in a book-length report published by *Neues Deutschland* on April 1, the stepped-up pace was "especially important on the eve of the summit conference, because the peasants have thwarted the plans of all the speculators in Bonn who aimed at undermining the German Democratic Republic, the first German peace State." In other words, Khrushchev can now present the Western powers with an East Germany more thoroughly integrated into the Soviet bloc than ever before, making it all the harder for the West to contradict his statement that "nobody wants to unify Germany."

ON THEY GO

EVERYWHERE IN EASTERN EUROPE, emphasis is now being placed on consolidating the gains of the past and moving ahead. The eight members of "Comecon"—the body which presides over planning in the Soviet bloc—are currently signing long-term trade agreements for the years 1961-1965 which will govern the movement of fuels, raw materials and manufactured goods from the mines of the Donbas to the factories of Bohemia. Similar arrangements—if less elaborate—were under way at the time of the last summit conference in 1955, only to be shattered in the political explosions of 1956. The years since then have done nothing to change the strategy and the aim. The aim is to build and accumulate; the strategy is to do this by pressing upon the individual until he either conforms or goes underground.

Not only is industry to be harnessed to the great international Plan, but the life of the peasant as well. Elaborate reports are now being published dealing with a "division of labor" among the farmers of the Soviet bloc and setting forth the types of crops which each country is to specialize in. Having pushed most of the peasants into collectives, the Communists must now face the fact that collective farming has not yet justified itself as an economic arrangement. Rather than abandon collective farming, which would mean a concession to private property and therefore a blow against "Socialism," the Communists intend to make it work. In Hungary, East Germany and elsewhere there is now much talk of finding incentives for collective farmers that will induce them to work more efficiently than in the past, and encourage them to bestow upon the common fields the same sort of interest that they give to their small household plots.

NO RETREAT

UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE Douglas Dillon, in an address to an American labor group on April 20, asked Khrushchev the following questions: "Is the Soviet Union prepared to remove its forces from East Germany and the Eastern European countries on which they are imposed? Is it willing to grant self-determination to the East Germans and to permit the peoples of the Soviet-dominated States in Eastern Europe to choose their own destiny"? An affirmative answer to these questions would imply the abandonment of some of the very policies which Khrushchev has pursued most strenuously of late. The problem is not merely that the Soviets are dominant in Eastern Europe and have armies of occupation there; they are carrying out a social transformation which, in their philosophy, represents the future for all of mankind. Thus Premier Khrushchev replied to Dillon on April 25 with the charge that he was still fighting a "cold war" and wanted the idea of peaceful coexistence to be "thrown overboard." The intransigent attitude of the Soviet leadership is shown in an open letter recently published by the East German Communists addressed to all the German people. The letter sets forth the fiction that the Pankow regime is a government of the people, and that the Bonn government is a regime of usurpers and fascists. (See Texts and Documents, page 43.)

Similar accents of legitimacy and power clothed the pronouncements of other East European regimes in the days before the summit meeting. In Czechoslovakia, after twelve years of social engineering, the Party has published a draft Constitution for the country which will embody the gains it has made since it took power in February 1948. The Constitution includes, among other things, the statement that Czechoslovakia is no longer a People's Democracy (a transitional form of society) but a full-fledged "Socialist State."

AN AMNESTY

IN HUNGARY THE KADAR REGIME has released some of the men it imprisoned after the Revolt, including the well-known writers Tibor Dery and Gyula Hay. The occasion of their release was the fifteenth anniversary of the "liberation" of Hungary by Soviet armies in 1945, celebrated with great pomp and éclat last month in Budapest. The amnesty might be taken as still another indication that the Communists feel they have everything well in hand, were it not for the fact that many of the freedom fighters of 1956 have not been released. The real enemies of Kadar and Khrushchev are those who fought in the streets, because they were the leaders of the people. Those leaders are still in prison.



New Polish merchant ships awaiting trial in the shipyard at Gdansk. In background, a 10,000 ton cargo-passenger liner; right foreground, a fishing trawler for the Baltic fleet; left, a 5,000 ton general cargo vessel of the type used for the Baltic run.

Gdansk State Shipyard photo

Poland Goes to Sea

by "NAUTICUS"

ONE OF THE DISPLAY WINDOWS in Warsaw's Grand Hotel is filled with bright posters advertising the North American and Far Eastern passenger services of the Polish Ocean Lines. On the bookstalls of RUCH, the State book and magazine distributor, a traveler can buy picture postcards of the SS "Nowa Huta," the SS "Boleslaw Bierut" and the SS "Soldek"—three of the many ships which have slid down the ways of Polish shipyards in recent years. Poland, which has so long fought for access to the sea, is now becoming the maritime nation of Eastern Europe. On the fast train that runs from Warsaw to the Baltic seaports of Gdynia and Gdansk (Danzig), one sees naval officers and merchant seamen returning from shore leave, and the ports themselves are full of lounging, hungry-eyed sailors who look just like their counterparts in Galveston and Cardiff.

Polish seamanship goes back to the Middle Ages, when Polish sailors dominated the Baltic Sea, but its modern

revival did not begin until after World War I. The Versailles Treaty gave Poland a toehold on the sea through the Polish Corridor and the Free City of Danzig, a compromise which failed to satisfy the desire of the Poles for a port of their own. To lessen their dependence on the Free City, the Poles constructed a new port in the Bay of Danzig and called it Gdynia. From this port they sailed passenger liners to America and freighters to the major ports of the Baltic and the North Sea. But the fleet was small by world standards, and the Second World War destroyed nearly everything.

The territorial changes following the war extended Poland's coastline westward and gave it, in addition to Gdansk and Gdynia, the important German port of Stettin (now Szczecin) at the mouth of the Oder River. All of the ports suffered enormous damage in the last years of the war. The postwar revival in shipping took second place to

the enormous task of reconstructing Polish cities, and was further hindered by the straitjacket of Stalinist economic policies. Not until 1958 did Poland's port traffic reach the level that it had attained before the war.

Under Communism no national tradition is left unbridled, and the Polish maritime industry has been harnessed to the needs of the Soviet bloc. A writer in the shipping journal *Technika i Gospodarka Morska* (Gdynia), July-August 1959, summed up one part of the task as follows: "Polish tonnage is to satisfy in the first place the needs of Polish foreign trade, and next the needs of the Socialist countries." Recently the Soviet bloc's Council for Mutual Economic Assistance held a shipping conference in Moscow for the purpose of "outlining proposals for the reciprocal use of sea vessels, in order to reduce to a minimum the idle runs of ships, and to consider questions of regular freight sea routes." (TASS dispatch from Moscow, March 29.) Moreover, the greater part of the tonnage produced in Poland's shipbuilding industry is intended not for the Polish fleet but for the USSR.

Whatever irritation this may cause to national pride, the Poles are still the seamen of the bloc. They share with the USSR the task of hauling the growing ocean trade with China and the west: locomotives to India, trucks to China, coffee from Brazil and wheat from Canada. For Poland the shipping business is a way of earning (or saving) foreign currency, a matter of some importance for a country struggling with an adverse trade balance. In 1956 Gomulka appointed Dr. Stanislaw Darski, an economist and pre-war vice president of the Gdynia-America Lines, as Minister of Shipping—one of the two non-Communists in the Cabinet. Since that time the fleet is said to have operated at a profit. During 1960, the Plan forces a \$15 million income, and the foreign exchange surplus is expected to reach \$33 million, or 23 percent more than in 1959. (*Technika i Gospodarka Morska* [Gdynia], October, 1959.)



Polish maritime publications have a Western look, and are the most accurate sources of information on shipping in the Communist world.

THE MERCHANT FLEET

AT THE END OF 1959 Poland's merchant marine amounted to 114 ships totalling 610,000 deadweight tons, making it 28th in size among the commercial fleets of the world. Although small in comparison with the fleets of Western countries, and about one-fifth the size of the Soviet merchant marine, it is by far the largest of any East European Communist country, and it is also larger than that of China. Its ships ply routes to the Baltic ports, Western Europe, the Mediterranean and Black Seas, West Africa, Asia and the Americas. A new line was recently opened to ports of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf.

Poland also maintains a large fishing fleet in the Baltic and a Sea Rescue and Salvage Service, which has raised 240 wrecked vessels from the Baltic since 1946.

With the exception of one oceangoing passenger liner, which sails the North Atlantic route, Polish shipping is devoted to freight. Approximately 75 percent of the fleet consist of bulk cargo carriers (i.e., vessels specialized in handling bulky goods such as coal, grain or lumber). In 1959, six of these were large tankers. A rough measure of the fleet's success and its growth during the 1950s is indicated by the 165 percent increase in ton-miles of freight transported in 1958 as compared with 1950:*

	1950	1955	1957	1958
In thousands of tons...	2,247	3,023	3,284	3,753
In millions of ton-miles	4,307	8,535	10,386	11,407

The fleet is divided into two major companies. The present Polish Ocean Line (PLO) grew out of the pre-war Gdynia-America Line which operated the passenger service to North America as well as freight vessels. This is still the dominant enterprise; the PLO has 10 of the regular lines and all of the long-sea routes. Of the three passenger liners in service before the war, only the 14,000 ton *Batory* survived the war. The PLO continued to sail it on the New York line until the Korean war, when the route was cancelled due to repeated violation of United States laws by Polish vessels. The North Atlantic line was reopened in 1957, but the *Batory* now sails to Montreal, Canada. Poland reportedly plans to make a bid for the North Atlantic low-cost tourist trade with a new ship to be built in Italy. The second enterprise is the Polish Steamship Company (PZM) which controls roughly one-third of the Polish fleet. It is basically a short-sea operation servicing the Baltic area and Western Europe, although it shares service to the Black Sea with the PLO. While the PZM maintains 6 regular lines, including a joint operation with Finland, more than half of its ships are chartered out as tramps.

To China Seas

The most interesting—yet obscure—route of the Polish fleet is the one to the Far East and Communist China. During 1959, 23 of the fleet's vessels were assigned to this

* ROCZNIK POLITYCZNY I GOSPODARCY (Warsaw), 1958; and WESTERN PRESS AGENCY (Poznan), November 1959.

POLISH SAILORS

The sailors who man the Polish fleet have given the Communists plenty of headaches. Few of the seamen are Party members, and voyages abroad offer many temptations. In an effort to solve this problem, political officers called "politruks" used to be included in the crews to keep a watchful eye for the regime back home. These officers were thoroughly trained in special schools, although their skill as seamen was often of dubious quality. The method was far from foolproof, and defections of seamen were common. After the 1956 "thaw," the political officers were removed from all merchant and fishing vessels, and the crews began to enjoy greater freedom. With the recent political tightening, however, the "politruks" are reportedly once again being included among the crews of ships sailing to foreign ports.

There has been no shortage of manpower for the Polish fleet, where the pay is higher than that of many other occupations. But the privileged status of the Polish seaman has not been based on salary alone. Smuggling has developed into a well-organized business, and it reportedly often involves a large part of a ship's crew, including its officers. In late 1957, special disciplinary commissions were established in Gdansk and Szczecin to deal with what an article in the monthly shipping journal *Morze* (Warsaw), January 1958, called "common symptoms of demoralization of ship personnel." "Contraband activities" headed the list of symptoms. The Ministry of Shipping, the article said, ascribed the situation to "incorrect personnel policies of the past period."

The number of Polish sailors is so large that many have joined the fleets of other countries, ranging from Scandinavia to Indonesia. However, there is a scarcity of thoroughly trained and experienced seamen, especially in the officer class. Poland suffered a heavy loss of professional officers after the war, many of whom signed on with the fleets of other countries, and the gap has yet to be closed.



The standard 10,000 ton cargo-passenger liner which Poland builds for its Far East Service. This is the "Boleslaw Bierut," built in Gdansk.
Polish postcard

route; and ships left Polish ports for the Far East more frequently than to any other destination. The route opened as a munitions carrier during the Korean war, although Poland was then ill-equipped to handle long-range ocean shipping on a large scale. The line expanded rapidly during the early 1950s. Its effect on Poland's transport of cargo between 1950 and 1955 is evidenced by one fact: while total freight, in tons, increased only 35 percent, the ton-miles doubled. (See table above.) Since 1955, this line has continued to expand as Eastern Europe sends more and more of its manufactured products to Communist China and the underdeveloped countries of Asia.

The PLO is in charge of this operation, but the line is partly run by a joint Polish-Chinese shipping enterprise called "Chipolbrok." The ships are manned jointly by Chinese and Polish seamen.

Tramping

The PZM operates most of Poland's trampships, and in mid-1959 it had 27 vessels chartered out on unscheduled runs mainly to Baltic and Western European ports. Most countries operating merchant fleets have found that the growth of world trade justifies maintaining regular routes. But for Poland tramping means foreign currency; moreover, it provides a flexibility which is lost in the operation of regular lines. An article in *Technika i Gospodarka Morska* (Gdynia), July-August, 1959, urged that "the development of the fleet should not be concentrated in one direction—i.e., the development of a line fleet—but should take into consideration, to a larger extent than before, the development of a tramp fleet." In the past, Polish tramping has been restricted by the type of vessels available for this activity. Most were old war-time "Liberty" ships which were confined to short runs carrying bulk cargo, and their capacity was not fully utilized. According to the article cited above, present planning aims to achieve more flexibility by the development of large tramp vessels capable of long ocean voyages; at the same time, a number of small and medium-sized tramps are to be built to handle the shorter runs. By

(Continued on page 52)

THE MERCHANT FLEET

	<u>Ships</u>	<u>Tonnage</u>	<u>Average Size</u>
1955	69	260,941	3,781
1956	70	266,639	3,809
1957	76	324,946	4,276
1958	97	482,800	4,430
1959	114	610,000	—
1960 (Plan)	—	725,000	—
1965 (Plan)	—	1,244,000	—

Sources: WESTERN PRESS AGENCY (Poznan), November 1959; TRYBUNA LUDU (Warsaw), February 5, 1960; ROCZNIK POLITYCZNY I GOSPODARCZY (Warsaw), 1958. The table gives deadweight tons.

"ALEXANDRA," by Václav Měsíček



"These young artists do not want to have anything to do with what an overwhelming majority of Czech and Slovak artists advocated in the great days of February 1948 and immediately afterwards—i.e., the decision to create a great Socialist art."

PŘEDVOJ (BRATISLAVA), MARCH 31, 1958

"It is most urgent, comrades, that we finally eject from our art and cultural life all the protagonists of revisionism and the various pseudo-humanistic philosophers of class appeasement."

ANTONÍN NOVOTNÝ, PRESIDENT OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA,
IN RUDE PRAVO (PRAGUE), APRIL 25, 1959

"Against whom and against what is this 'revolution,' this 'modernism' actually aimed? Against all progressive democratic and humanistic tendencies of our national art, against all the traditions of realism and populism in art."

KULTURNÝ ŽIVOT (BRATISLAVA), DECEMBER 5, 1959

Czechoslovakia's Rebellious Artists

THE COMMUNIST-CONTROLLED Union of Czechoslovak Fine Arts has twice postponed its national convention without a word of explanation. This double shuffle is given added emphasis by the fact that the Fine Arts Union is the only organized sector of cultural life in Czechoslovakia that has not convened since the Congress of Socialist Culture held last year (see *East Europe* August 1959). The unions of writers, musicians, film-workers, theatre-workers, architects, historians, scientists, all held meetings at which their leaderships parroted the Party theses on "completing the Socialist revolution in culture." The purpose of these conferences was publicly to increase ideological restrictions on intellectuals and artists and to make them produce work the regime regards as reflecting the "new Socialist life."

The Union of Fine Arts has been a black sheep in this performance. Instead of complying with the wishes of the Party, Czechoslovak painters and sculptors have been rebelling against Socialist realism by creating work "alien or hostile to our ideology," as the regime critics put it. Primarily, this means that the artists have refused to follow the approved style of heavy representationalism with a high didactic or hortatory content, and have insisted on working in this century. That this trend has survived the neo-Stalinist attacks of the Czechoslovak regime in the last two years was made possible by a unique situation in the

realm of fine arts, having its origin in the "de-Stalinization" of 1956.

Safety in Groups

In 1956 and the following years, painters and sculptors of similar bent formed creative groups which developed into schools. The younger generation of artists especially was the driving force behind this movement (see *East Europe*, December 1958). While the "old" established artists preferred individual exhibitions in art galleries, the younger ones showed in groups to propagate styles of their own. This method sheltered their unorthodox ideas, which otherwise would have been crushed by the unfriendly criticism of the Party dogmatists. As a result, the monopolistic grip of the regime-controlled Union of Fine Arts was broken, a more natural and democratic situation was created and new ideas began to bloom.

It became fashionable to print catalogues for each group exhibition of painting and sculpture which defined the group's ideological standpoint. "In the catalogue introductions and in the newspapers one read propositions full of chaos, outrage and demagogism," complained *Literární Noviny* (Prague), May 31, 1958. "Particularly in the past year, certain of the young artists have begun turning their backs on everything . . . that elevated the fine arts to an organic component of our newly created Socialist

reality," said *Predvoj* (Bratislava), March 31, 1958. "These young artists do not want to have anything to do with what an overwhelming majority of Czech and Slovak artists advocated in the great days of February 1948 and immediately afterwards—i.e., the decision to create a great Socialist art."

This ideological opposition, however, was by no means limited to "certain of the young artists." As a matter of fact, it was so widespread that the main reason why the regime has so far been unable to organize a successful convention was a general shortage of painters and sculptors who would be loyal to Socialist realism. Furthermore, the art-loving public fully realized that this ideological disobedience was a profound manifestation of opposition to Communism, and gave the defiant artists sympathetic support. Josef Rybak, chief Party critic, discussed this attitude in *Rude Pravo*, May 25, 1958: "It has been a year since our overnight modernists got mad about my article reviewing the exhibition of Jan Kotik's paintings. . . . I wasn't sorry then and I won't be sorry now if after this article, too, there are crowds wanting to see the new exhibitions of the creative group 'May' in Prague. This is the second exhibition of this group and I think it is clear where it differs from our ["Socialist"] concept of art. It is, therefore, in all respects an instructive exhibition. It manifests so-called artistic freedom."

The Party Squeeze

Those early months of 1958 were of special significance

to the artists, since it was then that the Czechoslovak regime made a decision to "complete the building of Socialism." In making this step, the Party stated quite clearly that the initial period of "people's democracy" was over, that Czechoslovakia was now in a transition period of Socialism, preparing for the establishment of a Communist society. Consequently, the entire cultural life of the country was expected to comply with this political decision, and the artists in particular were ordered to create works that would reflect the new political line in a more orthodox manner than ever before. The Party Congress incorporated this demand in the Congress resolution, which was published by *Rude Pravo*, June 23, 1958: "The Party expects our artists and the entire cultural front to rally even more closely around the Party in the fight for implementing the great tasks set by the Eleventh Congress. The Party will lead them to develop Socialist and realistic art which talks most eloquently to the broad popular masses. This, of course, requires a decisive fight against tendencies and moods that are alien to the Party and that help revisionism, so that the educational power of our art in the spirit of Communism may increase."

However, a year went by without any substantial change in the situation. "It is most urgent, comrades, that we finally eject from our art and cultural life all the protagonists of revisionism and the various pseudo-humanistic philosophers of class appeasement," said Antonin Novotny, President of Czechoslovakia, in *Rude Pravo*, April 25, 1959. "We must make it impossible for them to poison the healthy

"JAROV" (oil), by Karel Cerny



"WOMAN WASHING," by F. Burant



development of Socialist culture with the venom of bourgeois ideology."

This statement illustrated the depth of antagonism between the regime and the artists. The Party theoreticians subsequently made numerous statements of similar character; "Socialist art" was defined and re-defined. At the same time, however, newspapers and magazines kept on printing adverse criticism of one art exhibition after another, thus indicating that the artists were stubbornly going their own way.

On May, 1959, *Host do Domu* (Brno) had this to say about painters calling themselves "Group M": "What does this mysterious 'M' stand for? Modernism? Can't they say it openly? . . . To be sure, we see that the younger generation of artists in general goes back to creative concepts that used to be modern 50 or 70 years ago. . . . There is something else wrong with youthful art: too many landscapes, still lifes, a shortage of figure compositions. Let us be frank—is our era an era of still lifes and symbolic depictions of Czech landscape?"

Also in May, *Kveten*, a Prague monthly for young intellectuals, banned only a few weeks later, commented favorably on the exhibition of the group "Promena" (Change): "In the work of the last years it [the group] professes the modernism of fine arts tradition . . . most expressly the classicism of Picasso and the cubism of Kubišta's* landscapes."

* A Czech modernist of the early twentieth century.

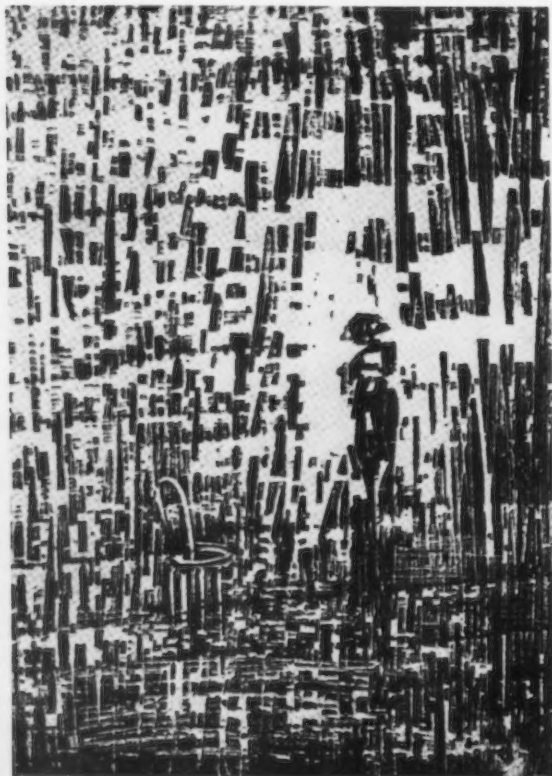
Boredom with "Socialism"

Despite growing regime pressure, "modernism" and bourgeois ideology" continued to be reflected in the works of art shown at various exhibitions last year. *Kulturny Zivot* (Bratislava) reviewed an exhibition of the Mikulas Galanda Group on December 5th, 1959. "The group's intention to portray Socialist reality fell short of its goal. It does not reflect the present era, but it frequently deforms and distorts reality. . . . In our opinion, these artists are losing face (national as well as artistic). And we may say that they estrange themselves primarily because in their form they feed on decadent art (cubism and expressionism, formal cosmopolitanism). It should be clear, however, that Socialist themes of a Socialist society cannot be expressed by decadent bourgeois means."

"Some of our painters and sculptors seem to have overlooked the fact that there are two cultures in this world: the progressive Socialist and the decadent bourgeois," said the official Slovak Party organ, *Pravda* (Bratislava), December 30, 1959. "Among some of our young artists a servility to Western 'examples' has been apparent, something they may not have always fully realized. This . . . leads to a negation of Socialist realism no matter what may have been declared in the artists' programs."

Kulturny Zivot published extensive criticism of three different group exhibitions of fine arts on January 2, 1960. The first target was the group August 29th. "Since this is a group . . . which includes several Communists and even a prominent State prize-winner, it is a tough one to

"RAIN" (woodcut), by Vladimir Tesar—Group M-57



"STILL LIFE WITH GRAPEFRUIT" (oil), by Libor Fara



criticize. . . . One can say just one thing absolutely: they purposefully inject anti-ideological and bourgeois tendencies into the development of our art, they bring to light modes of artistic creation which some of these artists cultivated years ago. . . . Those who admire Picasso not for his political stand and for his talent but only for the formalistic features of his work, those who crave modernism at any cost even if it is only a decadent expression of a rotting society and cannot see that it is decadent, those who see modernism in everything that just is not ours—such people have chaos, to say the least, in their minds.” One member of this group was specifically accused of “being close to so-called ‘magic realism,’ one of the more recent American trends which is a branch of surrealism.”

“The exhibition of the painters Simudra, Sochor and Filo was a sad one,” continued *Kulturny Zivot*. “In greyish tones they expressed boredom at a ‘conference of builders [of Socialism],’ a greyish-green monotone depicts the ‘hiring of a new worker’ . . . who under such conditions would probably quit on the spot. By using titles like ‘Cosmic Rocket’ and ‘Cosmic Mechanisms,’ M. Simurda justified the purely abstract geometrical play of colors. It would also be interesting to know what had such a crushing effect on Jan Sochor that he painted peculiarly deformed features of a human face under the title ‘What’.

“One does not know what to think of the exhibition of Skupina 4 [a group of four women artists]. With each artist one can trace at least two different creative concepts; one, somewhat more sincere, based on the reality of this

world, the other showing that they are possessed by a desire to be ‘modern’ . . .”

In conclusion, *Kulturny Zivot* cried: “Why are the theoreticians of the fine arts not trying to defend the resolutions of the Party organs, why are they oscillating between the bourgeois and the Communist ideologies, creating chaos and supporting bourgeois tendencies in art? . . . Against whom and against what is this ‘revolution,’ this ‘modernism’ actually aimed? Against all progressive, democratic and humanistic tendencies of our national art, against all the traditions of realism and populism in art.”

The New Push

Thus, the situation at the beginning of this year had changed little from two years ago when the “completion of the building of Socialism” was first announced. This ideological defeat apparently irritated the regime to such a degree that sharp administrative measures against the artists were adopted by the Politburo, probably some time last December. On February 19, 1960, *Rude Pravo* suddenly announced that “the Party”—at an unspecified meeting of an unspecified organ—had passed a resolution on the situation in art. While no details were revealed, the paper stated that “the tasks that follow from this resolution . . . are great,” and that “the Party organs and artists’ organization must win over all honest artists, loyal to our regime, to carry out the decisions.”

From scattered reports that have appeared in the press

“SPRING AT AN OLD AIR SHAFT” (oil), by Bohdan Kopecky



in the last few months, it appears that the crack-down against artists is to achieve three main goals:

- 1) to break up the existing independent groups of painters;
- 2) to make individuals dependent primarily on income from regime sources;
- 3) to replace the sophisticated city audience by "healthy Socialist elements" in the factories and collective farms.

There is logic in this plan. The Groups were the back door through which some kind of democracy returned to the sphere of fine arts after the artists had been atomized into helpless individuals and then herded by the regime into uniform "Unions." Now the breakup of Groups, the atomization of individuals and a new regimentation of the artists is supposed to be achieved by an enforced transfer of artists from urban centers of culture to industrial plants and collectives in the countryside.

The pretext under which the regime intends to carry out its plans is the "demand" for a uniform cultural development of the entire "Socialist society." This development is to take place hand-in-hand with the development of a "Socialist way of life" which is promoted primarily through so-called Brigades of Socialist Work.* *Vecerni Praha*,

* These are "collective teams" of workers who pledge themselves to "the Socialist way of life" in all things.

Prague, January 7, 1960, wrote on the connection between the Brigades and the artists: "It would be hard to find a more helpful factor in the cultural revolution than the Brigades of Socialist Work. . . . The slogan "Work the Socialist Way—Live the Socialist Way" cannot be split in two parts. . . . The Brigades are waiting for the artists to come to advise and help them. . . . Go help the Brigades! So far, however, only a few artists have done so."

Since there is an apparent lack of enthusiasm for this project, the matter was taken up by the authorities. "The Ministers heading industrial departments were instructed to create realistic conditions for artists to find placement in individual industrial sectors," reported *Literarni Noviny*, February 6. "On the subject of artists, solutions of many burning problems were adopted to the effect that the artists will now be able to influence the appearance of a large number of consumer items. Thus, the superfluous concentration of artists in Prague and Bratislava will be avoided. . . . The Government is working on directives to National Committees which will ensure that the transfer of prominent artists to industrial centers and villages will be regarded as a matter of public concern and that the material problems involved will also be treated from this point of view."

Communist Exurbanites?

Rude Pravo, February 14, 1960, made some specific suggestions on the subject: "It will be necessary to adjust the

"BOY SINGING THE BLUES," by Vaclav Beranek—Group of Nine



geographical distribution of creative forces in our arts. It certainly is not a desirable condition if an overwhelming majority of our artists live in Prague or Bratislava, while practically no creative artists live in the Kosice region where the big East Slovak [heavy industry] construction project is taking place."

It appears that the new jobs for artists assigned to industrial plants will be created on the basis of an old decree, as indicated by *Rude Pravo* of February 14: "The Decree of the Ministry of Education and Culture No. 91-1958 orders all enterprises of the Socialist sector to submit artistic blueprints of mass produced items to the proper Arts Commissions. On the basis of this Decree and in cooperation with the Union of Czechoslovak Fine Arts, Art Councils have been created at the enterprises of the Ministry of Consumer Goods, whose task will be to take care of the aesthetic standards of consumer goods."

On February 19, 1960, the paper indicated other "productive" uses of artists who are to be shipped out of the large cities: "There are great possibilities in the use of artists as teachers of art at secondary schools and at schools of people's art, as industrial artists at plants and as workers at institutions of cultural enlightenment."

The ideological conquest of the artists is to be achieved primarily by economic pressure. This, too, is to be exercised through the medium of an established institution—the "Art Funds." These funds which originally were to assist artists in the sale of their works recently turned into a sort of wholesale buying agency through which "worthy art" is to

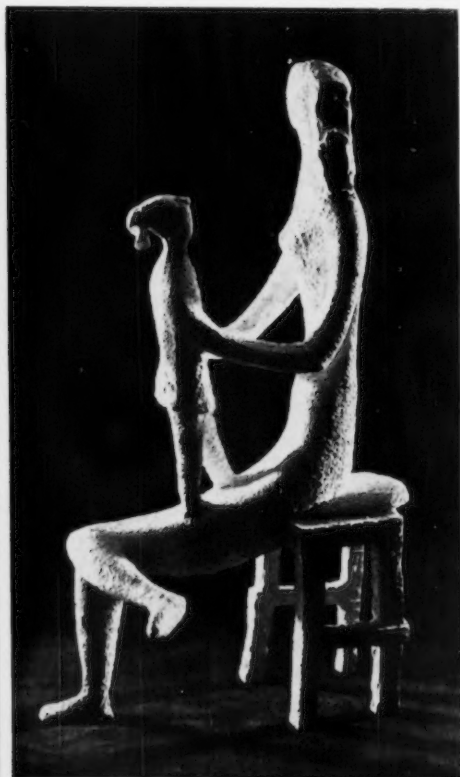
flow to the public. *Mlada Fronta* (Prague), reported on July 17, 1959, that the Slovak Art Fund will "regularly buy up the works of artists, thus ensuring the marketing of their works . . . the value of which will be judged by an Art Commission, to make sure that the customer does not get trash." While this was still being done on an experimental basis, *Rude Pravo* of February 19, 1960, stated quite clearly that from then on "the Art Funds . . . should be changed from passive agencies between the artists and the working public into leading instruments of Communist Party policy in the sphere of fine arts, where they will actively help promote healthy creative efforts of Socialist and realistic art."

Buying Them Up

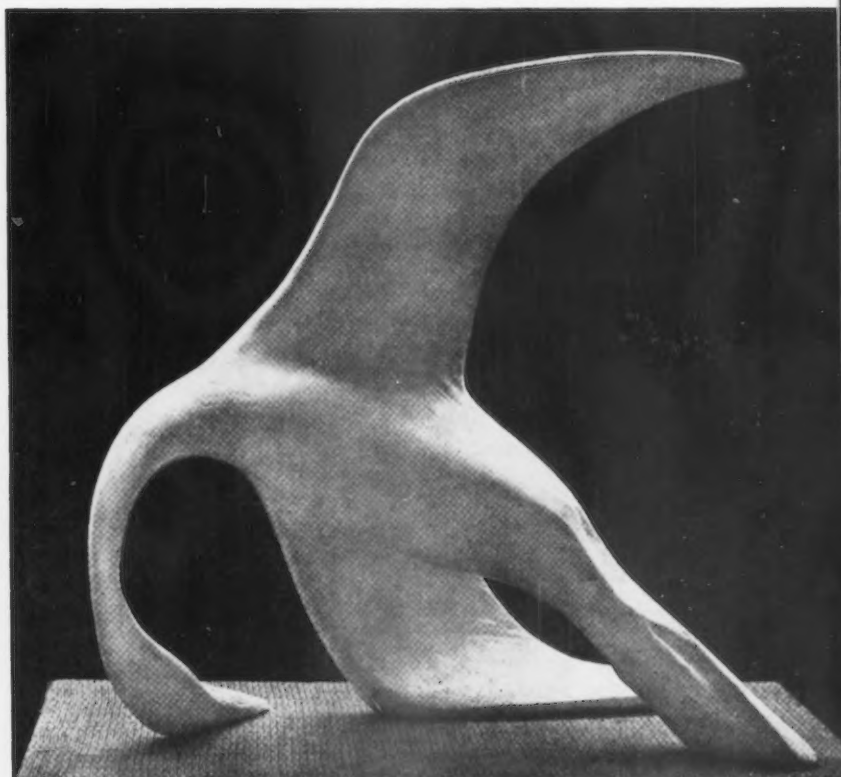
This measure is, of course, directed against all works of art which do not meet the "Socialist-realist" standards. The Art Funds will simply refuse to commission paintings or sculpture from artists who are "out of step." To make sure that this is observed, *Rude Pravo* demanded that "great attention be paid to the practice of the Art Commissions and particularly . . . to the cadre problems of the Art Fund apparatus." In other words, the Party must ensure that Art Commissions, as art buyers, are composed of reliable Communists who will guarantee meticulous discrimination against non-Socialist works of art. In consequence, artists discriminated against will have their incomes so reduced as to force them to submit to ideological requirements.

The artist who does not want to sell his work through an

"MOTHER" (plaster of Paris), by Jindrich
Wielgus—Group 58



"WOUNDED BIRD" (plaster of Paris), by Vincenc Vingler



Art Fund, has one way open: to sell it personally. However, *Lidova Demokracie* (Prague), warned on September 9, 1959, that "according to the Directives and the Administrative Penal Law No. 88-1950 C.L., such direct sales to private individuals must under no conditions take the form of door-to-door selling." Thus, if the artist cannot go to his customers the prospective buyers must come to him. To get them, the artist needs publicity, but this, too, is to be cut down to the minimum. There is no question of taking advertisements in the Communist press. The most natural form of public promotion, of course, would be an exhibition. However, *Rude Pravo* of February 19 stated that "to a much larger extent it is now necessary to organize broad collective exhibitions of art . . . and to reduce the number of individual exhibits." The Party organ also remarked that many exhibitions show signs of "ideological confusion, even attempts to promote decadent taste." Since the city audience has responded to such "decadent taste," the regime will now "organize art exhibitions in industrial plants and agricultural collectives at which conversations and discussions between artists and the working people will take place."

Quite a few such exhibitions have already been organized. *Prace* reported on January 28, that an art exhibition was installed at the Koh-i-noor plant in Prague. The artists "submitted to the laboring people almost one hundred works, desiring not only to make the workers more familiar with art but also to hear their opinions about the work exhibited." It is likely that the workers, shepherded by members of the Party apparatus, will give a unanimous verdict on the exhibits—in favor of "Socialist realism." This will give the regime an additional propaganda lever for insisting on ideological "purity" in artistic expression.

It remains to be seen whether this enormous pressure will produce the desired results. Writers, who have more or less been brought into line by the regime, need the Government printing plants and regime publishing houses to have their works published. Musicians, film-producers, architects and others are also dependent on the technical machinery which is fully controlled by the regime. However, painters and sculptors do not have this need; they can produce a finished work all by themselves. "The artists," remarked *Rude Pravo* on February 19, "enjoy an exclusive position in society." If the worst happens, once again painting and sculpture will fill not the galleries of Czechoslovak towns but rather the artists' studios and basements—and by the time the regime has completed "the building of Socialism" it will still be calling for art that truly depicts the "glorious élan of our Socialist society."

"STYLIZATION AND DEFORMATION"

From the platform of the Kveten group of artists:

"We do not want just to stare at life, to register it in a passive way. The goal of our creative work is not an illusion of reality but the concept of reality. The problem of so-called instructive portrayal is to us less important since structural principles of works of art today spring from the artist's need to express his relationship to the theme, his evaluation and his philosophy, his standpoint. The truthfulness of a work of art does not consist in the preservation of proportions 'according to reality,' but is that disruption of proportions which manifests a true, active, revolutionary concept of a reality. Stylization and deformation are indispensable means for expressing the creative 'subject in art.'" (Kveten [Prague], January 1959.)

HELPING HAND

The Czechoslovak Youth League formed a special organization at the Prague branch of the Czechoslovak Fine Arts Union on March 23. As reported by *Mlada Fronta* a day later, "young artists under 35 years have for the first time been formed into a political organization whose task is to take care of the members' education, help their artistic development and offer further assistance in placing them in society and in the solution of their material problems. In close cooperation with higher organs of the Czechoslovak Youth League, the city branch of the Czechoslovak Fine Arts Union and the Czechoslovak Fine Arts Fund, the newly created organization will tackle the following tasks in the immediate future:

- to increase the exhibiting and publishing activities of the young
- to offer scholarships through the form of public demand [for specific works of art]
- to organize political schooling and seminars
- to decentralize cultural life into rural areas with the help of young artists
- to develop cooperation with art theoreticians
- to initiate cooperation with young artists of the peoples' democratic countries
- to create artists' clubs."

SOURCES FOR THE PICTURES

(in order of appearance)

KULTURA 59 (Prague), February 26, 1959
 VYTVARNE UMENI (Prague), No. 10, 1958
 PLAMEN (Prague), January 1960
 KVETEN (Prague), No. 5, 1959
 VYTVARNE UMENI, No. 3, 1958

VYTVARNE UMENI, No. 9, 1957
 CERVENY KVET (Ostrava), November 1957
 VYTVARNE UMENI, No. 2, 1959
 VYTVARNE UMENI, No. 8, 1959

Story of a Young Peasant

In the last year the Romanian Communists have renewed their efforts to set up collective farms, and there have been reports of bitter resistance by the peasants. This eyewitness account shows how fiercely the battles are fought, and what happens to the losers.



Winter scene in the yard of a collective farm in Romania.
RUMANIA TODAY, (Bucharest), No. 5, 1958

IN THE SPRING OF 1953, a collective farm was established in the village. Only 13 people belonged to it, all of whom were members of the Party and had joined because they wanted to. Six years later, in April 1959, a big drive began to force the rest of the people in the village to join the collective. The president of the People's Council and the rest of the local Communists went in groups to visit the peasants and try to persuade them to join. If they refused, they were reminded of their unpaid taxes—even if they had none. If this didn't work, the visitors looked for undeclared goods in the peasant's yard, probing in the hay stack and all over the place. Some of the peasants resisted as long as possible, but when they saw their produce being confiscated and their names put on a list of people to be prosecuted, they gave in.

The peasants were told that they need not bring all of their property into the collective farm. They might give over whatever part of their land and tools they wished, and keep the rest in private ownership. In this way, by June of 1959 half the peasants had been induced to join the collective. Then an order came that those who had joined with only part of their property should be considered as though they had brought everything into the collective, and all of the produce from their private property should be pooled with that of the collective land. They were to be paid for the labor on their private land at the same rate as for the work they did in the collective. At first the peasants refused, but finally had to give in. With the excuse that all of the collective land should be brought together in one unit, the authorities took land from the private peasants and gave them in exchange a corresponding area in other places. Naturally, the collective chose the better land whenever possible and gave away the inferior land.

Three peasants who protested against this were arrested by the militia on the order of the People's Council. That was on Saturday, June 20. The next day some of the peasants went to the People's Council and told the President how they had been promised that they could enter the collective with only half of their property and that now

the authorities were taking everything. The President said there was nothing he could do; he was merely obeying orders.

The discussion grew warmer, and the peasants fell upon the President and started beating him. When some of the People's Council guards came to his aid they got a beating too. The building was devastated. Then the peasants went into the streets and chased all the Communists out of the village, beating up half of them.

Soon three trucks arrived from a neighboring town bringing 15 militiamen with revolvers. The troops formed a wall between the crowd and the People's Council building. Thereupon the crowd headed toward the village jail to release the three peasants who had been arrested the previous day. After that the crowd went to the headquarters of the collective farm and ransacked the office, burning every document they could find. They went to the home of the manager of the collective and ransacked that. After this they headed back to the People's Council building, where they found security troops, fully armed and led by a colonel.

The colonel was trying to calm the population. Singling out a young peasant X, who was one of the leaders of the demonstration, he asked: "What's the matter, kid, why are you so angry?"

"I'm angry because they are taking our bread."

"And what do you want?"

"Down with the collective farm! Everybody agrees with me." The crowd shouted assent.

The peasants began making fun of the troops and throwing mud at them. The colonel tried to tell the people that he had not come there to beat them up but to find out what had happened. People continued to throw mud at the troops. The colonel asked them if they wanted to fight the soldiers, who were peaceful but very well armed, and then the crowd calmed down and listened. The colonel promised to see that the guilty officials were arrested. Finally the crowd dispersed and, toward evening, the peasants went home.

The Defeated

For a week afterward the village was patrolled by security police cars. The peasants were allowed to go to work in the fields, but were not allowed to go near the People's Council. Several militiamen came and talked to the peasants. They said confidentially that if the peasants had held out a little longer they might have made terms with the authorities, as had happened recently in two other villages.

About a week later four of the leaders of the riot were arrested. Someone told the young peasant X that he was about to be arrested too. He went into hiding and lived with various relatives in neighboring villages, hoping that when things blew over they would leave him alone. On July 19, when he went to visit his wife, he was caught and taken to the militia headquarters.

He was asked to confess that he had taken part in the uprising, but he refused. He received a blow on the neck. Then he was given a thorough beating with a rubber hose and a police club. Finally he confessed that he had been at the riot but had not taken an active part. They sat him down in a corner and quietly advised him to confess everything, for otherwise he might be sentenced to twenty years in prison. One man said: "Twenty years would be nothing. You might even get death." He was put in the lockup overnight and told that the next day he would have to confess and be sent away to prison.

During the night he managed to bend the iron bars in the window and climb out. He crept home, woke his family and told them what was going to happen to him. Then, pretending to go to sleep, he took some money and headed for the next town. From there he got a ride in a military truck to a town where there was a railroad station. He spent the day sleeping on the outskirts of the town and making himself a lifebelt out of some wire, two belts, one nail and two pumpkins. Then he took a train to the Romanian border on the Danube river, across from Yugoslavia. The next day he looked for a good place to cross the river. In the middle of the afternoon a storm forced him to take shelter in a railroad station, where he was stopped by a border guard. The guard asked him what he was doing there. He made up a story, and bought a ticket. The guard kept following him, so he had to get on the train again and go back the way he had come.

Finally he gave up all his carefully laid plans, got off the train at the next station and walked to the nearest point on the riverbank. He undressed in a cornfield, put on his home-made lifebelt and crawled to the river. He climbed over the barbed wire and jumped into the water. He had not counted on the strong current, which carried him downstream toward a large town and close to a ship. He could not swim at all, but luckily the ship missed him. When he got to the other side of the river he had a moment of terror, thinking that the current had carried him into Bulgarian territory. But he found some Yugoslav border guards, who gave him clothes and took him to a camp. He had his identity card with him, in his hat, and he presented this to the Yugoslavs.



A delegation from the Republic of Guinea arriving in Bulgaria. NEW BULGARIA (Sofia), February 1960

The Courting of Guinea

Is the new Republic of Guinea becoming a Communist foothold in West Africa? Although President Touré says that his policy is one of neutrality, Guinea has established close political and economic relations with the Soviet bloc, and particularly with the countries of Eastern Europe.

AT THE BEGINNING OF March the Republic of Guinea severed its commercial and financial connections with France. On the same day President Sékou Touré fixed his signature to documents implementing a loan of \$35 million from the Soviet Union. When protests poured in from the government of France and from French commercial interests in Guinea, he remarked that the protests reminded him of an old legend about death. "A corpse protests to Death," he said, "and Death replies: 'If you aren't alive I can do nothing for you.'" He concluded: "The French here are already dead."

He was right in more than one sense. The break with France began at the end of September 1958, when the government of Charles de Gaulle offered its African dependencies a chance to choose between political association with France and national independence. Guinea, to the consternation of the French, chose independence.

Hardly had the news been broadcast when the USSR offered Guinea economic and technical aid. As in Egypt and Iraq previously, the Soviet overtures were attended by swarms of emissaries from Prague, Budapest and other East European capitals. Within a few days an East German mission made its way south of the Sahara to Conakry, and shortly thereafter two agreements were announced: one calling for the exchange of Guinean bananas, coffee and palm kernels against East German textiles and machinery; the second providing for East German technical and cultural aid. Before the end of 1958, a Czechoslovak mission had signed an agreement with Guinea on economic, scientific and cultural relations. Shortly afterwards, two shipments of Czechoslovak arms arrived in Conakry along with a group of technicians. By midsummer of 1959 Guinea had signed trade, commercial and cultural agreements with most of the Satellites.

Mutual Advantage?

Westerners in Guinea report that the capital city is now a veritable showroom for Communist culture and technology. Fifty brand new Hungarian buses roll through the streets. Although there are no newspapers, the East Germans have agreed to build a printing plant. The departing French took with them the uniforms of Conakry's police force, and now the streets are patrolled by men wearing Czechoslovak uniforms and carrying arms manufactured at the Lenin Factory in Plzen. In the liquor stores, French cognac has given way to Polish vodka. As if to make the irony complete, a shipment of rice from the United States arrived in the harbor of Conakry on the same day that a larger shipment was delivered from Communist China.

These offerings from the Communist world are not gifts, even if it took Soviet credits to finance them. Guinea will pay for them with bananas and bauxite and diamonds, with peanuts and iron ore and coffee. A lack of foreign currency is no obstacle to dealing with the Communist countries, which are accustomed to making barter agreements with themselves and with other countries. Radio Warsaw reported last November that Poland has dealt in barter terms with Guinea, India, Japan, South Africa and Rhodesia. In exchange for Guinea's iron ore and palm kernels, the Poles are sending back matches, textiles, radios, enamelware, telephone equipment, cigarettes, storm lanterns, beer, vodka and other goods.

The East European countries are obliged to trade with Guinea and other newly independent countries as part of Moscow's program of "peaceful competition" with the West, but it is not necessarily to their economic disadvantage. Guinea exports raw materials that can be used in the expanding industries of the Soviet bloc, and offers in return a market for industrial products which the Communists have difficulty in selling on the more discriminating markets of Western Europe. At any rate, the East Europeans are pushing their wares diligently. Czechoslovakia exhibited motor vehicles and agricultural machinery in Conakry last November; at the same time the Prague newspapers announced that large credits had been offered Guinea for the purchase of sugar refineries, radio stations,

freight cars, trucks, tractors and sanitary equipment. On March 3, Czechoslovakia sent its Minister of Heavy Engineering to open a larger industrial exhibition in Conakry, featuring machine tools and automotive equipment; an added attraction was a group of Czechoslovak girls modeling clothes suitable for the African climate.

President Touré, when he was in the United States last November, stated that he wanted Guinea to remain neutral. His government has announced that English is to be taught in the schools, but it has not yet obtained the teachers it needs. Meanwhile students from Guinea have already left for Budapest, Prague and other Communist capitals to study in universities and technical schools (eighteen are reported in Prague).

On March 5 a diplomatic earthquake occurred when the East German Communists announced an exchange of ambassadors with Guinea, and it seemed that Guinea had become the first non-Communist country to recognize the Pankow regime. The West German government immediately summoned home its ambassador in Conakry, with the implication that it would break off relations. President Touré denied that Guinea had recognized East Germany, and the diplomatic move seems to have been withdrawn.

A MANNER OF SPEAKING

First Announcer: "Now for the next question: 'If Communism is an atheistic movement, how do you explain the statement Premier Khrushchev made when he said, 'God helps those who work the hardest'?' Well, I see that this questioner wants to accuse our Nikita Sergeevich of being religious!"

Second Announcer: "That's very easy to explain. There are so many Russian proverbs and sayings. Folk language, you know, is exceedingly rich, and God is often referred to in our language. Since it is a part of the language we speak every day, and since Nikita Khrushchev likes to use proverbs, sayings, and the language of the people, naturally these sayings crop up in his speeches. He has many times referred to God in his speeches.

"I can quote another case. In an interview with the Columbia Broadcasting System in 1957 he stated: 'If we say our system will be victorious, that is, that Socialism will win, this does not mean that we are going to foist our system on any country by means of war. God forbid,' said Nikita Khrushchev. 'We believe that it will be victorious and win over the minds of nations. The system in each country must be of the kind that the people of the country want.'

"So you see, here again he referred to God. But as I said before, that is because he likes to use the language of the people."

From a program called "Moscow Mailbag," broadcast by the Soviet North American Service on March 24



Tibor Dery (right), with French writer Louis Aragon, at the Budapest Peace Congress in 1953.

Two Stories

by TIBOR DERY

Last month a prison door opened in Hungary to release one of the world's outstanding Communist literary figures. Tibor Dery had been a devoted Communist since the days of the Bela Kun regime in 1919, and had shared exile and imprisonment with other Hungarian Communists between the two World Wars. But under the ruthless tyranny of Rakosi he rebelled. "It is high time," he told a meeting in 1956, "that an end be put to the regime of gendarmes and bureaucrats." He supported the dissident Party faction of Imre Nagy (executed in 1958) and was a leader in the revolt of the intellectuals which preceded the 1956 uprising.

*The two stories printed here were written before the Communists came to power in Hungary. They are in that vein of social criticism—the "short and simple annals of the poor"—which the Party encourages when it is fighting "capitalism" and forbids as soon as it attains power. The first one, "Poppy-Seed Noodles," is particularly ironic since it revolves around a Communist imprisoned in 1919. The second, "At Home," deals with a soldier returning home after World War II. Both were republished in a volume entitled *The Horse and the Old Wife* in 1955, when Dery's writings were enjoying a wave of popularity in Hungary.*

POPPY-SEED NOODLES

THE CLEAR, EARLY-MORNING March sun shone brightly over the small, one-story house in Aprod Street where the M. family lived. Peter, the youngest of the five children living at home, stood in the kitchen door which opened out on the courtyard.

"Lonci, come on in," he yelled at the top of his lungs. "Come in."

"What for?" the little girl asked, enjoying the warm sun-

shine and leaning against the opposite wall of the courtyard.

"Mother is kneading dough."

There was a long silence.

"It's a lie," the little girl said after a prolonged pause.

"I swear it."

"I don't believe it," the little girl said.

The boy shrugged his shoulders. A scrawny little boy

[Author's note] This story took place approximately thirty years ago, about mid-March 1919, when the Hungarian Soviet Republic was proclaimed. It is about Mrs. L. M., a worker's widow, and her children. Her eldest son, Jozsef, a steel puddler in a foundry, was in jail charged with a political offense. He was freed at the end of March by the Commune and wounded in the subsequent fighting. After the collapse of the Republic, he fled to Czechoslovakia and from there went to the Soviet Union. Today, he is back in Hungary, and his younger sister was recently elected Mayor of the Transdanubian town of R.

with sloping shoulders, his tiny face had hunger lines sharply etched from the basic material of childish innocence and was turned defiantly toward the girl. Still she shook her head.

"You can't fool me."

"Who's fooling?" the boy mumbled.

"She's kneading dough?"

"That's right."

"You're lying," the girl shouted excitedly, stamping her bare foot. "Where would she get the flour? We haven't seen any flour since Christmas."

The boy shrugged again and turned back into the kitchen leaving the girl alone in the uncertain, early spring sunlight. Its feeble warmth and pale color still carried memories of winter, but where it touched her naked skin, it held summer's promise. Her soles got no sun—as is the case with human soles—and they shivered with cold while her thin neck and almost transparent temples quivered in the warm sunshine. Her whole little body was simultaneously timid and bold under the March sun, suspicious and hopeful, like the first tender flowers breaking through the cold ground.

Eyes half-shut, she thought about the news. "He's lying," she cried, suddenly raising her head. "Mother has no flour."

Once again, she lifted her skinny leg to bathe it in the sunshine, then lowered it, and head held high and hair streaming behind her, she dashed into the kitchen. Her mother stood at the kitchen table, back to the door, but her rhythmically moving arms and shoulder blades instantly proved that Peter had told the truth. She was kneading dough. The pain of hunger made the little girl's stomach contract. Their last meal had been a plate of thin soup at lunch the day before.

The four boys stood around the table. One of them turned nervously to the girl, motioning for her to be quiet. With shining eyes and rigid bodies, they watched the kneading board. Only their teeth gleamed between their parted lips, like those of hungry wolves. The silence was so intense that the light thump of the mother's palm sounded like a loud crash against the walls. On tiptoe, the little girl edged cautiously toward the table.

"Quiet," Pista whispered through his bad teeth. His hair was falling into his eyes and his elbows rested on the far side of the table.

"Damn your hungry bellies," the mother said. "Get out of here!"

The children didn't move. One of the graying streaks of the woman's hair had fallen over her forehead and now dangled in front of her nose, swaying with the rhythmic

movements of her kneading hands and body. Her knuckled hands kneaded, patted, massaged the dough, pressing the dirty-gray substance, made without eggs, into a round ball. Every now and then she pushed her thumb furiously into the dough, pulling it out with a sucking noise. Then, once again, she turned the ball over, slammed it down with her palm and flattened it against the board. Why is she so angry? the little girl wondered, for a moment turning her eyes on the large pug-nosed face of her mother.

Behind them, on the stove, a large pot of water already simmered. From the courtyard came the sound of the old water pump squeaking, then the hoarse cursing of a man. The woman picked the dough up again and slammed it down on the board, kneading it furiously. "This slop, this dough of mud," she muttered under her breath, so low that even the children around the table couldn't hear her. Shame and bitterness painted bright red spots over her high cheekbones.

On the table was a red and white polka-dot cup with the water she used to turn the flour into dough. The slight shaking of the table had made it slide slowly towards the edge and now, nearly grazing the elbow of one of the boys, it fell to the kitchen floor and broke. The children grew pale and the youngest jumped away from the table. The mother stopped kneading, but only for a moment. She looked helplessly around out of her deep-set eyes and then turned once more to the dough, lifting the ball and bringing it back to the board with a thump.

"Peter," she said, her voice trembling, "put some wood on the fire."

By the time the dough was shaped into a solid smooth ball, and the mother had begun to roll it flat, the quick-rising sun had already withdrawn its light from the kitchen of the low house and suddenly it became much darker. One of the handles of the rolling pin was broken and it took nearly ten minutes before the hard dough was finally flattened. The children had not budged from around the table. The woman looked at them once in a while, but then, as if she couldn't stand the look on their faces, she lowered her eyes again. Her movements grew sharper and she became increasingly irritable. By now, even the little girl was afraid to speak. Peter's mouth began to water, Pista swallowed hard on the other side of the table, and one of the other boys' stomach was rumbling noisily.

"Don't be so greedy," the girl whispered to Peter, and dug her elbows into her brother's side, trying to bring the day-dreaming boy back to reality. Peter turned to the girl. "What do you want?" he asked. And now his stomach too began to rumble. The children couldn't take their eyes off the fast-growing mound of long, thin noodles which would soon grow nice and fat in the boiling water and would end, fragrant and covered with sugar and poppy seeds, on their plates. The little girl stole a glance at her mother's big, bony face, but quickly turned her eyes away. Two heavy tears ran down along each side of her mother's nose.

The next moment the woman slammed the rolling pin down and straightened her large body.

"Whose stomach is rumbling here?" she asked threateningly.

The boys were silent. No one came forward.

"Mine," the girl lied quickly, so her mother would not get even more worked up. The next minute a sharp slap burned her cheek. Her eyes filled with tears, but she pressed her lips tightly together and said nothing.

"Oh, how I've been cursed with these awful brats," the woman wailed, tears streaming down her ashen face. "They think only of their own bellies and don't give a damn about their big brother starving in prison. They'd gobble everything up. They have no consideration for their mother, break things left and right, but not one of them would even think of picking up the pieces of the cup they smashed. Get out of here right now, before I beat the life out of you. All of you."

Half an hour later the little girl was on her way to the prison carrying the pot of poppy-seed noodles neatly wrapped in a clean dishtowel. She and the four boys had only had the water in which the noodles were boiled. Browning some onions in a bit of margarine, her mother had made a hot soup for them, but all the noodles were in the pot for the oldest brother living on prison rations. During the two months he'd been in prison, they had never, until now, been able to send him any food.

The trolley tracks gleamed in the sunshine. Bathed in the bright March sun the streets were so colorful and fragrant that for a while the little girl completely forgot she was hungry. Riding the streetcar was a rare experience for her and she was completely absorbed by the fast-moving shop windows reflecting the sun, the rattling carts, the passing street corners, the rumbling trucks coming from the other direction and disappearing instantly behind the streetcar, the pedestrians jumping off the tracks, coats flying, when they heard the streetcar's warning bell, the noise, the smell of the Danube, the closed engine of the streetcar. She even forgot the very existence of the pot of noodles and her brother Pista's clumsy shoes, far too big for her, but which her mother had insisted she wear. After almost a whole hour, she got off the streetcar at the Drasche factory, a good distance from her destination, because she was too shy to ask where the stop at the prison was. Then, suddenly, fear and hunger descended on her again, like two crows settling on her shoulders.

For about fifteen minutes she withstood their tormenting gnawing. There, at the outskirts of town, where the empty lots were punctuated by tiny houses and endlessly stretching factory walls, the wind was brusque, flattening and quickly dispersing the smoke bouquets from the factory chimneys over the sprawling fields. The piercing wind and cold made her hunger pangs more acute. There were only a few people in the streets, among them unshaven soldiers in shabby uniforms who frightened her. Between two piles of bricks, she saw a man leaning against a wall, eating. He cut his bread and bacon into small pieces with a pocket-knife and, just as she was passing by, he raised a chunk of bread and bacon to his mouth. As soon as she had passed him, the girl stopped to undo the dishtowel over the pot. With two fingers, she reached daintily under the cover, pulled one long string of noodles out, and put it quickly into her mouth.

It was sweet, rich and warm. She pulled out another long string, then hastily tied up the cloth again. From the other side of the road a bow-legged little brown dog ran up and stopped directly in front of her, looking up with eager anticipation. His sides nearly hollow, he spread his legs and wagged his tail furiously. "Oh yeah," the girl said scornfully and, cautiously circling the dog, set out for the prison. She was faint with hunger and, eyes unseeing, was licking her greasy fingers. Silently trotting behind her, the dog followed closely. Each time she looked back, the dog stopped, hopefully wagging his tail. "Oh yeah," the little girl muttered, more and more fiercely. Once, she even kicked in the dog's direction but took care not to reach him.

Twice more she undid the cloth, stuffing a few noodles between her gleaming, pearly-white teeth. Nearly half an hour had passed since she'd gotten off the streetcar and still there was no sign of the prison. Finally, she could no longer bear the hunger pangs. They burst out of her very core, piercing every particle of her nerves, glands and body, and veiling her brain in fog. Hunger hurt her so badly it almost made her laugh. She sat down on the side of the road, under a bush, and with one wild gesture, tore the cloth off the pot. The dog sat in front of her, carefully watching.

The wind tore through the bush and the girl's little snub nose was bitten burning red by the cold. Soon the tip of it was greasy and the poppy seeds and sugar painted a little mustache beneath it. She stuffed the noodles into her mouth with both hands. Her thin cheeks, her pointed, little-girl's chin, all became sticky and dirty. A long sad noodle somehow managed to stick to her forehead and then dropped to the ground to be lost forever in the dust. As long as she was eating, she only thought of her imprisoned brother as a vanquished obstacle. A feeling of unspeakable joy, never before experienced, tingled through her whole little body, up to her ears and even down to her bruised little toes. Tongue hanging out, the little dog panted in front of her. Now that her hunger was appeased, she looked at him with a mellowed friendliness and, checking to see if she was getting closer to the bottom of the pot, she picked up a few noodles with two fingers and threw them in front of the dog. He snapped them up with smacking noises. The girl broke into laughter, and the second time, in order not to hurt his feelings, threw him a whole handful. Thus they went on munching together, one handful for the girl, the other for the dog, their innocently greedy teeth flashing at each other in the returning sunshine. After the last noodle was gone, the girl first wiped the bottom of the pot clean with her fingers, and then the dog did the same thing with his tongue. Licking their lips, they stared at each other.

When the girl scrambled to her feet, the dog remained on his haunches. She looked at the satisfied animal and suddenly understood that the pot was really empty. Her heart grew so heavy she had to sit down again, but she remained seated only for a few moments. Then, grabbing the towel and the pot, and looking as if some rabid animal were breathing down her neck, she broke into a run. She meant to turn toward the prison, but only after several

minutes did she realize she was running in the opposite direction, toward home. She turned around. When she passed the bush, she saw the dog still sitting there, turning placidly toward her. She slowed down only when she was utterly out of breath. She wiped her face clean of the poppy seeds and sugar, rubbing her face hard until even the lingering taste left her mouth.

Some two hundred paces later she came to the prison gate. She was afraid to enter but did not dare turn back. She wiped her face, mouth, neck and ears again, this time with her skirt. Once inside the gate, she knew the way. She'd been there before with her mother, soon after her brother was brought there from the Marko Street prison, but her memory seemed to fail just as her heart seemed to stop beating. She didn't recognize the building. For a long time she stood there, drawing figures in the sand with the heel of her shoe; then, pressing the pot hard against her chest, and trying bravely not to cry, she went inside.

She didn't recognize her brother immediately when she saw him on the other side of the screen. It was as if he had grown even taller. The guard behind him, with the bayonet, did not even reach to his shoulder. Her brother's shirt was open, his strong, muscular neck just a little bit thinner, his stubble darkening his face. She remembered that prisoners were shaved only once a week on Sundays. Yet when he smiled, recognition flooded her in the same way as when one sometimes recognizes a part of one's own naked body when it moves. On Jozsef's big, bony face, in his smiling blue eyes, and inside the fine little lines under his eyes, she found the sweet sparkle of intimate familiarity. His warm, shining smile always stopped the flow of children's tears at home when he put his hands on their shoulders and looked into their eyes. The little girl flew close to the screen but could not kiss him or reach him through it. The touch of the cold steel made her heart shudder again. She stepped back, grabbed the edge of her skirt, and began to wipe her face again. The young man looked at her silently. The girl changed color, opened her mouth to speak.

"Well, 'Lonci," the brother smiled.

"Mother sends her love," the girl said.

"Is she well?"

"Yes."

Then his eyes caught the big red pot, standing in the far corner of the room. He recognized the cracks in it instantly: it was his mother's. Empty? He averted his gaze quickly but she'd already noticed the slight movement of his eyes and her face turned ashen. They looked at each other and even the man's lips quivered a bit.

"Well, kid, have you lost your tongue?" Even if it came a moment too late, he still did manage to smile. The empty pot in the corner represented six empty bellies, a child turned thief, his starving family at home.

"You know we have only five minutes to talk. Well, then, Mother is well."

The girl did not answer.

"Soon I shall be home," the man said, "and then we'll throw a party where even the roaches will dance the *czardas*."

"When?" the girl asked.

The man kept nodding his head.

"Soon. And tell Mother not to eat her heart out because of me. I'm doing fine here. Food is very decent. We get meat every day. In the evening a good soup and some noodles, and nearly a pound of bread."

The girl stole a glance at her brother. The good food seemed to have left no trace in his appearance.

"We too," she said hastily, "we too. We eat a lot of meat because it's cheap now. Yesterday we had rabbit, venison style."

The man made a face. "I don't like that. Hare and venison I enjoy only as paprika-goulash, otherwise I can't stand the smell."

"That's good too," the girl agreed.

"Is Mother working?"

"Oh, yes," the child lied. "She has a good cleaning job, and she often brings food home from there too. When will you come home?"

"Soon."

Again they looked at each other, both of them very pale.

"What's going to happen now?" the little girl asked after a while. The young man smiled at her. His face again radiated strength and sweetness, even from behind the screen which cast a faint shadow on his forehead.

"Nothing is going to happen. Soon I shall be home."

"That will be nice," the girl sighed.

"Yes, very nice."

"Before summer?"

"Yes."

"That will be wonderful," the little girl repeated.

She heard a bayonet clang behind the man. The girl turned around suddenly and dashed for the door. But before she could grab the door handle, she stopped suddenly, bent her head low and, pressing both hands to her stomach, started to vomit. She might just as well have given the whole pot of noodles to the dog.

"Poor little kid," the young man said, and turned back once more, before the guard shoved him out of the room on the other side of the screen.

Translated by Helen Hausmann.

Hungarian playwright Gyula Hay, released in last month's amnesty.



AT HOME

THE SOLDIER STOPPED SHORT in front of the house. From the doorway of the large suburban tenement, the combined stink of garbage, urine and rotted vegetables streamed into his nose and lungs like a mother's familiar voice streams into a child's mind. He swallowed and paled out of sheer happiness. It was breathtakingly the same odor that he had left behind six years ago when he had stepped out of that same doorway to join his company. Since then, neither in the Ukraine nor afterward in the POW camp had he met exactly the same smell. Those odors were close or distant relatives which only stirred his memory, without speaking to him in his mother tongue. This—this here—was the odor of his home, the very smell of his fatherland.

He eyed the building for a long time. Between the entrance and the second floor, right under the first window to the left, he discovered a heart-shaped blot where the coat of yellow plaster had peeled off: one of the past six years' wounds. He looked at it for quite some time, then pulled himself together and stepped inside. The stairway had not changed at all; the only difference was that the glass was missing from the window-frames. His feet found their own way into the hollowed-out grooves of the old staircase as easily as if they were slipping into worn shoes. Upstairs, in the hallway, a nicked tile tilted under his sole with the same old sway as before. In the corner, the dark-green door of the communal toilet was half-open, as usual. The house was waiting for him.

He wiped his forehead with the back of his hand, then knocked on the glass pane of the kitchen door. Inside, the door of the main room did not open and the kitchen, too, remained dark. On the second try he knew that his wife, if she was still alive, was not home, yet conscientiously he knocked again for a third time. Behind him, across the hall, a door opened quietly, remaining narrowly open for some time before someone shut it with a rattle. One of two windows on his left also came to life, displaying several pairs of peering eyes behind them. A door on his right was suddenly opened and remained open for some time.

The man turned around and saw the child on the threshold. Could he be my son, he thought. Maybe Mary went to work and left him with the Molnars for the day.

"What's your name?" he asked.

"Johnny Molnar," the child replied.

"Are you sure?"

The child burst into laughter. "Of course, I'm sure," he said, looking straight into the soldier's eyes. The soldier nodded quietly and then began to laugh himself. "Who you looking for, Mister Soldier?" the child asked, but received no answer, because the soldier was already on his way downstairs. Only the knapsack on his back nodded goodbye to the boy as he wearily went down the stairs. On the ground floor, in front of the janitor's door, he wiped his sweating face once more. The woman behind the stove stared at him with the hostile and simultaneously defensive look peculiarly characteristic of janitors all over the world. The curious faces reappearing in the courtyard and along the circular hallway made him painfully

aware once more of the many greedy eyes on his back. He took off his cap and leaned his knapsack against the wall.

"Auntie Ruff, don't you recognize me?" he asked.

The woman let her hands fall.

"I can't get into my apartment," he said quietly. "My wife is probably out. You have a duplicate key. Please let me in."

Attentively he watched the woman's thin mobile face. Its swiftly changing expression mingled astonishment, horror, malice and sympathy, and told him—in historical cyclorama—the entire story of the past six years in less than a minute. He turned his face away; he didn't want to read the whole truth in her eyes. "Please, open the door," he repeated, somewhat more coldly.

"Mr. Juhasz, you're alive, after all!" she exclaimed, opening her pale-lipped, partly-toothless mouth wide. "We thought that. . . ."

". . . I was a prisoner of war," the man interrupted quickly. "I didn't write to my wife from the Debrecen camp because I hadn't heard from her in two years. Now give me the key, Mrs. Ruff."

The woman shook her head regretfully. "I have no key, Mr. Juhasz," she said, but her words rang with just a little more sympathy than such a simple statement of fact required. The soldier caught its meaning immediately. No doubt, my wife is alive, he thought. But my son?

"Is the apartment still in my name?" he asked, showing by his averted head his unwillingness to learn anything more from the look in the woman's eyes.

"Yes, of course," she nodded. "Won't you sit down, Mr. Juhasz?"

The blood in his temples hammered and his throat was parched while he climbed the stairs again. By the time he reached his door, however, the surging anger had calmed and subsided beneath his nerves, leaving enough strength in the muscles to thrust the door open with a single shove of his shoulder. Inquisitive eyes filled the windows, now bathed in the morning light of the quiet autumn day. Here and there a door swung open; a woman stepped out into the corridor and, darting a frightened look behind, ran to a neighboring apartment; downstairs, the janitor's wife crossed herself before making the fire in the stove to heat the morning coffee.

He looked around the kitchen first, then examined the main room. Not only were all the old pieces of furniture there, but an oak desk with a green baize top, which stood between the window and the wardrobe, had been added, and on top of it was a picture of a mustached stranger. A man's threadbare jacket hung on the back of a chair. Only his eyes touched it and he knew it was not his. His eyes stumbled over a mustache brush, a pipe, and a pair of dirty socks on the floor. But sharper than the stench of all these strange objects there, he was struck by the icy, infernal blast of the thing that was *not* there. He tore open the wardrobe; no trace of children's clothing. None in the kitchen. None in the drawers.

He went back to the room, picked up the stranger's photograph from the desk and crushed it between his bare hands. The nails from the frame pierced his flesh but he

was not aware that he was bleeding. He took off his knapsack and sat down in a chair. The place smelled differently from the way it had in the old days when he had lived here with the woman.

If she and her lover came in now, I'd kill them, he thought, and stiffened in the chair. In his towering rage he was stammering out loud. An hour later, when he got up to boil some water in the kitchen, he had recovered his calm. He found the big tin washbowl with the chipped blue enamel coating in its usual place behind the stool. The sight made him lose his temper once more: the bowl showed him with shameless insolence the image of his wife's gripping hands, and he couldn't help seeing her bend down, lift the bowl with familiar movement and put it on the stool for the strange man. The soap dish was in its old place too, on top of the dresser, under the folded and still-wet towel. Behind it he found his own shaving mirror, as stained and lather-bespattered as in the old days. On the stove were two boxes of matches, one for the used sticks, as it always had been before. Clearly the woman preserved her own small world, out of which he had stepped, and she had let someone else take his place.

He washed in the tin bowl, then shaved his beard off with the stranger's razor. In going through the routine procedure, his movements grew calmer and resumed the even, unperturbed rhythm they had developed during the many years in camp. He took clean underwear from his knapsack; ate an apple and a piece of bread; and from the window watched the sparse traffic of the narrow, suburban street; then wiped his mouth with the back of his hand and went to the wardrobe. He's a clean man, he thought, while he took out the stranger's belongings one after the other and put them into the worn brown suitcase he found on top of the wardrobe. There were two suits in the wardrobe, one light linen, the other of some black cloth, and a pair of carefully-shined brown shoes. He didn't go through the pockets and he refrained from examining any of the unfamiliar objects which he successively removed from the drawers.

Time and again his glance strayed to the glass pane of the kitchen door, but only the dim autumn sunshine filtered through it, occasionally darkened by some rapidly-moving shadow in the corridor. Toward noon, the number of passing shadows multiplied, but since the woman did not come to prepare lunch, he assumed he would have to wait until later in the afternoon to meet them. While fussing around near his child's empty place, he discovered two more chasms into which he looked down into the nether regions of the sunken past. Over the beds a rectangular spot on the wallpaper told him that his parents' wedding picture had been taken down. The pink box with the forget-me-not design on its top, where his wife had hidden his earlier love letters, was now empty. Nor could he find his more recent letters from the POW camp.

Slowly the afternoon passed. He cut out a piece of leather from the sole of a torn shoe and replaced the leaking washer in the kitchen faucet. Then he fixed the kitchen-door lock and repaired a shaky leg on one of the chairs. He had hardly finished the last job when the kitchen

door opened and the woman came in, followed by her lover. The way they stood showed beyond doubt that they'd been informed of his arrival downstairs.

"You wait outside. First I want to talk to my wife alone," he said to the man, and pushed him out into the corridor. Then he took the key from the woman's hand and locked the door. "Don't worry, I won't hurt her," he called out to the stranger, and the quiet tone of his voice was a surprise even to him. "Wait until I call you."

The woman had grown old. The sorrow over the child's death had left deep marks on her face. Her walk was sluggish. Panicky lights filled her eyes when the soldier finally turned and looked into her face. Only her slim waist remained unchanged; it was straight as when she was a girl. "Sit down," he ordered awkwardly. The silence in the room was so complete that they could hear the trolley bells from far-off Vani Street. "Sit down. Coming from work?"

"Yes," the woman replied.

The soldier nodded. "Don't be afraid. I won't hurt you," he mumbled. "What happened to the child?"

"He died."

"When?"

"During the siege, in forty-four."

"We heard about the siege of Budapest in the camp. I know it was in forty-four. That's why you took up with this mustached one? I mean, because the child died?"

The woman didn't answer.

"And my mother?" the soldier asked after a while.

"She's dead too. Of all my family, only my sister in Cegled is alive. My brother was killed in action on the Ukrainian front."

Both were silent. Again, it was the man who broke the silence. "I see," he said. "Still, I don't think you should have taken the picture down from the wall. Did he insist on it?"

The woman nodded.

"Was he jealous?" Though hardly perceptible, his voice suddenly sounded fuller and deeper. "What kind of man is he anyway?"

"He's a good man. I really can't complain."

Now it was his turn to nod. Altogether she hasn't changed much, he thought, only her speech is a little slower. But her teeth were as white as ever. "Where do you work?" he asked. "In the textile plant? Which one? Kispast? Is that where you met him?"

"No," she said. "He's a clerk at the Fifth District tax office. When he was bombed out of his place and his wife died, I sublet the room to him and I moved out into the kitchen."

"How long have you been living together?"

The woman thought a while before she answered.

"Two years. Since I stopped writing to you."

He found that perfectly logical. She would have been unfaithful only if she'd continue to write to him. Her speech was soft and lucid as a summertime meadow; you could get lost in it. The soldier watched her face and no longer saw the cobwebs under her eyes. "Couldn't you live by yourself?" he asked. "Of course, I realized that it

(Continued on page 27)

Entering Communism

One of the paradoxes of the Bolshevik revolution was that it occurred in a backward country where neither Socialism nor Communism was yet possible. Lenin and Stalin had to postpone their ideal society until the indefinite future. Now the Khrushchev regime claims that the USSR is well advanced upon the road to Communism, although the other countries of the bloc are still building Socialism. A Soviet professor, G. Glezerman, published an explanation of this process in Soviet Aviation (Moscow) on March 24. His argument, directed to the Soviet technical intelligentsia, does not allow for any future change in Soviet political institutions.

TODAY YOUNG PEOPLE can be seen at the workbenches of factories, behind the steering wheels of combines, and in the cockpits of airplanes; people who were born in the mid-thirties, at a time when the new pattern of society—Socialism—had already won its victory in the USSR.

Their childhood and adolescence coincided with the period of the maturing of the Socialist society, with the beginning of its move toward Communism. Now they are assaulting another and higher historical boundary with the older generation. The Soviet people, guided by the Communist Party, have ascended to such a height that they are able to enter the period of all-out building of a Communist society.

If one were to try to express the main content of the new period in a few words, one might say: This is the stage in our homeland's evolution which is called upon to create directly all the material and spiritual premises for the transition to Communism. To the Soviet people, Communism no longer constitutes a remote goal, but a near future, the road to which is opened by the propositions of the seven-year plan and the long-range plan for the develop-

ment of the country's national economy.

In its movement to Communism, society passes through a number of stages. The first of them is the transition from capitalism to Socialism, which ends with the victory of Socialism. In our country, this took about two decades. The foundations of Socialism were laid as a result of the first five-year plan in the USSR. That meant that the Socialist pattern of the economy asserted itself not only in the towns, but also in the countryside; that capitalist elements were by and large liquidated; and that the question raised by Lenin, "Who gets the better of whom," was decided in favor of Socialism. The victory of Socialism in our country was codified by the adoption of the constitution of the USSR in December 1936.

Having built Socialism in its basic outlines, the Soviet Union entered the stage of the completion of the building of the Socialist society and the gradual transition to Communism, the growth of the first stage of Communism into the second, a growth constituting a long and gradual process.

Thus, the entire road from capitalism to Communism can be divided into two main stages—the transition period,

in the course of which a new, Socialist society is in process of being built, and the period of the gradual growth of Socialism into Communism. These stages differ from each other in many respects.

The specific nature of the transition from Socialism to Communism lies, above all, in the fact that this is not a substitution of one socio-economic formation for another (as is the transition from capitalism to Socialism) but the realization of a higher stage of the very same socio-economic formation.

"Not a Social Revolution"

A universal law of transition to Socialism is the revolutionary negation of capitalism, the shattering of its basis, which is effected through the social revolution. In contradistinction to this, the transition to Communism implies, not the annihilation, but the further development and perfection of the foundations of Socialism. That is why the growth of Socialism into Communism is effected gradually, at the rate at which the material and spiritual premises required for this purpose are created, and not in terms of a social revolution.

The gradualness of the transition

from Socialism to Communism implies that it does not take place suddenly. It covers a whole historical era. Our country entered on it more than two decades ago. And although the war, unleashed by Hitler's Germany, and then the rehabilitation of the shattered economy, robbed us of a number of years, we have moved far ahead compared with our start. By 1958 the level of the pre-war industrial output was exceeded more than four times. In 1959 steel production in the USSR amounted to almost 60 million tons, which is approximately equal to the output of England, France, and West Germany together.

"Collectivization—the Hardest Task"

In the general era of the gradual transition from Socialism to Communism, the period of the all-out building of a Communist society occupies a special place. Why is it called the period of the *all-out* building of Communism?

Every historical analogy is conditional. Yet sometimes a comparison with the past does help us to understand the present and the future better. Let us recall the years of the building of Socialism. At first, we settled individual major tasks which one by one faced our country. Among them, the task of Socialist industrialization, presented in its entirety by the 14th Party Congress, was of overriding significance. On its basis, it not only became possible, but also indispensable, to tackle what was the hardest task facing the proletarian revolution after the assumption of power—the mass collectivization of the peasant farmsteads and their direction to the Socialist road of development.

The 15th Congress went down in history as the congress of collectivization. When a decisive turning point had taken place in this sphere, the Party was able to launch the attack of Socialism all along the front, an attack crowned by a remarkable victory.

The period of all-out building of Communism precedes immediately the beginning of the higher stage of Communism, just as the all-out attack of Socialism all along the front prepared the transition to the first stage of Communism. It is a specific feature of this period that it presents the Soviet people no longer with individual tasks, but with all fundamental tasks taken together, on which the building of the higher stage of Communist society depends.

At the same time that the USSR has

tackled the implementation of the program for all-out building of a Communist society, mapped out by the 21st CPSU Congress, the all-out building of Socialism is proceeding in other Socialist countries.

In a number of countries such as Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and others, for instance, Socialism has already scored a decisive victory. There the foundations of Socialism have been laid and the tasks involved in the completion of the building of Socialism are being carried out. The time is not far off when these countries will also tackle the building of Communism. The rounding-off of the general line of economic and cultural development of the Socialist countries opens up prospects for their more or less simultaneous entering into the higher stage of Communism.

The Soviet Union is the first country in the history of mankind to have built Socialism and to have entered the period of all-out building of a Communist society. But this period constitutes a specific feature not only of the USSR. There can be no doubt that the other Socialist countries, too, will pass through it when they reach the decisive stage of building a Communist society.

THE MAJOR FEATURES and tasks of the period of all-out building of Communism were determined by the 21st CPSU congress [in January 1959].

The main tasks of this period are the creation of the material-technical basis of Communism, the further consolidation of our homeland's economic and defensive might, and at the same time the ever fuller satisfaction of the Soviet people's growing material and spiritual needs. In the course of this period, the historic task of catching up with and the outstripping of the most developed capitalist countries in per capita production must be achieved in practice.

A decisive condition for the transition to Communism is a high level of production. This is necessary in order to eliminate the substantial differences between town and countryside, between intellectual and physical labor, to secure a full abundance of consumer goods, and to create the material prerequisites for the transition from distribution according to work to distribution according to need.

Communism implies a higher development of production than the one

reached or which can be reached in the most highly developed bourgeois countries.

"Leaving the US Behind"

In 1965 the Soviet Union will, in absolute amounts of production of some of the most important types of goods, surpass, and regarding some other types, approximate, the current level of industrial production in the United States.

In agriculture the USSR will at that time surpass the present level of the United States not only in gross volume of production of the most important products, but also in per capita production. One must note that already in 1959 the Soviet Union had caught up with the United States in the gross volume of production of wheat, milk, sugar beets, and wool, and in the per capita output of butter; after the conclusion of the seven-year plan our country will need only about five years to assume first place in the world in the per capita output of goods.

The USSR, however, will naturally not stop at this level of development of production. Leaving the United States behind, we will advance further. Communism bases itself on a higher material-technical basis than capitalism, requiring the complete electrification of the country, the complex mechanization and automation of all production processes, and the comprehensive utilization of new sources of energy, including atomic energy, of new synthetic materials, etc. In resolving this task science and progressive technology will play an ever growing role. The discoveries of science and the achievements of engineering-technical thought contain enormous reserves for speeding the creation of the material-technical basis of Communism. The creation of such a material-technical basis is the most important prerequisite for the transition to Communism. This task is about to be solved.

Catching up with and surpassing the major capitalist countries in per capita production, we will create the highest living standard in the world.

The well-being of the people is the highest goal the Communist Party sets for itself. The development of production in Socialist society is subordinated to this. The reduction of the working day will be carried out on the basis of the growth of Socialist production and increasing labor productivity.

Enormous work is being done in our country in the field of housing construc-

tion. In 1959 more than 3 million families received new apartments.

State expenditures for education, culture, social security, insurance, subsidies to mothers with many children and to single mothers, are increasing every year.

The most important peculiarity of the period of all-out construction of a Communist society is the fact that a further approximation of town and village, of physical and mental work, which ultimately will lead to the disappearance of social distinctions between the workers, the peasantry, and the intelligentsia takes place in this period.

The CPSU Central Committee plenum in December was a plenum for mobilizing agricultural reserves. It demonstrated the inexhaustible possibilities for a rapid growth of production in our State farms. The further improvement of production relations rests on this basis.

The task of overcoming the essential differences between physical and mental work is also about to be practically resolved. The complex mechanization and automation of production which is being carried out in the USSR not only has great economic significance, it is also, as was stressed at the 21st CPSU congress, of social importance. It frees the workers from heavy physical labor, changes the character of their production activities, and requires much from their cultural-technical training. The reorganization of the system of national

education, the combination of teaching with productive work, and the introduction of polytechnical education, promote the training of comprehensively developed people in Communist society.

Together with changes in economic relations, important changes in the entire superstructure of Socialist society are being carried out. The period of construction of a Communist society is a period of an even greater flourishing of Socialist democracy, of a further increase in the role of the public in the entire life of the country. The working people will, with increasing activity, participate in the administration of the State, in deciding public affairs, and in managing production.

"To the Shining Heights"

The transition to Communism requires also an enormous growth in the culture and education of the people, overcoming the remnants of capitalism in the minds of the people, and inculcating all members of society with an inner urge to work for society with all their strength. Questions of Communist education, particularly of the younger generation, now acquire exceptional importance. What matters is the education of people who will not only build but live under Communism. Therefore, the period of all-out construction of a Communist society is also the period for shaping the spiritual features of the new man.

Resolving all these tasks creates the material and spiritual prerequisites for the transition to Communism. Entering into Communism is a natural and gradual process. Today the Soviet people are opening the door to tomorrow's Communism, creating the conditions to implement this transition. The transition to Communism will be concluded when an abundance of wealth fully meets the growing requirements of society, when all people have learned to work according to their abilities, multiplying and accumulating public wealth. This goal inspires the creative work of the Soviet people, and they are sparing no effort to bring its implementation closer.

At the 21st CPSU Congress, Comrade N. S. Khrushchev brilliantly compared our Party to a vanguard of mountain climbers who boldly and confidently storm new, apparently unapproachable peaks, thus blazing a trail for the people who follow the vanguard. . . . "In the same manner our Party, the militant vanguard of the working class and of the working people of the Soviet Union, leads the Soviet people to the shining heights of Communism," said N. S. Khrushchev.

Defining the current period as the period of all-out construction of a Communist society, the Party shows the people inspiring prospects for advancing to the shining heights of Communism, to the great and brilliant tomorrow which is already discernible before us.

Paradise Subverted

Nikita Khrushchev went to heaven—the Christian heaven—and knocked upon the gate. "What are you doing here?" asked St. Peter. "I've been everywhere else," said the visitor. "Why shouldn't I come here? Do I need a visa?"

St. Peter spoke to God. "He's only visiting. He wants to see what cherubim and seraphim are like."

"Very well," came the answer, "but I won't allow any speeches."

Three days later God called St. Peter unto Him and was told that Khrushchev had departed in his jet airplane,

carrying back with him a couple of angel feathers and a sample of manna for the peasants in the Ukraine. Unfortunately, said St. Peter, it had not been possible to prevent him from speaking. The Lord asked, "Was anybody converted?"

St. Peter rubbed his chin, mentally calling the roll of the heavenly host. It seemed a ridiculous question, but no doubt the Lord had His reasons. After examining every possibility he raised his eyes, smiled, and said: "No, Comrade, not one."

Bulgaria's "Nylon Intelligentsia"

Cultivated young people in Bulgaria still admire the West, and they have built defenses which the Party cannot easily crack, according to a Party writer.

IT IS KNOWN that in our country there still survive some remnants of old attitudes in the peoples' consciousness. All sorts of Western influences, the so-called "American way of life," also find different paths to permeate our life. After the dethronement of the personality cult and the schematism and dogmatism connected with it, a relapse into the old aristocratic tendency in literature, galvanized by known sociological and psychological causes, started anew. What is behind this?

Here also, of course, the fundamental reason is a pose, the desire to impress, to astonish, to amaze others. There are some young people who, for example, master the English language, well or badly. They start to study English and American literature. There is nothing wrong with this. These literatures, particularly English literature, have played a great part in the formation of the esthetic and ideological culture of humanity. What is wrong is that some of these people want at all costs not only to impress one with their erudition, but also to show that they know what other people do not know—that is to say, to adorn themselves with things coming from without, just as once upon a time our old well-to-do people used to embellish their homes with artificial flowers "alla franca." . . . What is the easiest way to do this? Shakespeare, Byron, Dickens or Edgar Poe, Whitman, Mark Twain, etc., are well known to many people. You can hardly impress anybody with them. You must make deep studies of them if you want to impress anybody. This is a very hard and complicated task. So the new aristocrats . . . go back to the old methods of their predecessors. They start looking for what is newest, what people speak most about, what provokes the greatest fuss in the West and which has not as yet reached us or which is not likely to enter our country.

What do these young people do? First of all they start denying our literature. They proclaim it as something small, of no importance, lagging behind. It is intended for the ordinary people who do not know modern Western literature. It is a "provincial literature," as one of them put it at a writers' assembly.

"What is the standard of our literature? [said another]. No standard whatever. With what work do our writers compare their own? With that of the Soviet Union. But Soviet literature itself is lagging behind contemporary, modern literature." And these young people start to act as their predecessors did—they start to become priests of "modernity." And, you see, modern is free verse, modern is a different, new imagery not yet known in our country. Our contemporary poets are not acquainted with or have

scarcely heard, over the hedge, about modern poetry. And new poetry begins from the moment when Stephane Mallarmé proclaimed free verse as sacred before English students, it only partly covers Valéry and Claudel, to arrive at the surrealism of Aimé Césaire, to the spirituality of Luc Estang, at the neo-symbolism of St. John Perse, etc. And these people mention names which in general are but little known and wait to see the effect of their words.

We said that they follow attentively those works which make a great stir in the West and they are ready to proclaim them as works of genius. But in reality what do our men of letters know of the contemporary novel, of the contemporary story? What do they know about the novels of Sagan, about the resurrected Kafka?

And what about American literature? When Hemingway was but little known in our country, they used to mention his name from morning to night. And used to speak, of course, of those of his novels which were not yet translated into Bulgarian. "Hemingway destroys the picture. He does not care for long descriptions. Hemingway is an enemy of psychology. Modern literature is above all action. The sentence must be full of verbs." And these people felt themselves prophets of some new literature, as teachers and leaders.

Yet when Hemingway's works began to be known in Bulgaria they started searching for other examples not yet known in our country. These could be Joyce Cary, Irwin Shaw or somebody else. And they start speaking of their books, their genius, their brilliant qualities. They acknowledge—of course—the "elevated" creative methods—intuition, inspiration, self-observation. To speak about connection with life is for them antiquated, old-hat. They love to quote Somerset Maugham's joke when answering the question whether he had visited all the places described in his books: "That is a question which one could never have put to Dante." These people are—consciously or unconsciously—enemies of realism; it seems to them superannuated, and they are inclined to accept most of the criticisms directed against Socialist realism. . . .

Especially—because in our country Russian literature is well known and much appreciated—they love to show a certain contempt for even the great Russian writers. A translator from English, when talking of the excellence of English over Russian literature, said among other things: "There is a second-rank English writer of the Elizabethan period, unknown in our country, who is some five times greater than Turgenev." With this sentence the young man wanted to stress that it is he who knows true litera-

ure, and that those who content themselves with Russian or Soviet literature have no idea of what greatness in letters is. He and the few of his kind are something more than everybody else. . . .

The nylon intelligentsia have their genuine side, their attitude, their circles, some "especial" ones even have their admirers. In their behavior, first of all, they outwardly agree with our reality and accept all as it is, but with the slightly skeptical smile of the connoisseur. They attend meetings, listen to reports, even applaud, but they succeed in exchanging some ironical looks.

They strive to dress in ultra-modern nylon style, have a slack, negligent pace, an artificially absent-minded look. Of course they love a jolly life, sports and modern dances. They meet in small gatherings at a friend's, prepare cocktails in the English style, drink, dance rock and roll, and are jolly. But now and then the dancing stops, the couples pause with serious looks, and with faces still warm and sweating from dancing, start their literary activity. One of those present triumphantly opens—with the pose of a priest—some book of "modern" verse and starts to read. All listen in respectful silence and only now and then do you hear some interjection expressing admiration. This reading accompanied by cocktails continues for an hour or half an hour and then the dancing goes on. . . .

But our people do not need this sort of culture. Though

our country, as well as other Socialist countries, has entered industrialization, though we do build plants and factories, this is not a cause for our literature to fade, this is not creating readers of the modern American type, our creative spirits are not de-individualized by it, neither are our readers losing their individuality. The mighty technical developments in our country are not the enemy of human personality, of humanism and culture.

In the Socialist countries, machines do not rub away the edges of individuality, they do not kill man. Man can be a "freed peasant," as Alberto Moravia puts it, but this peasant knows how to direct a perfect [industrial] technique and at the same time to read Dostoyevsky, and not in a popularized version. In our country new, Socialist man is being built in the rhythm of Socialist building and at the same time in the flight of our literature. Despite the quick tempo of developing life, he carefully preserves his substance, his unique and unrepeatable individuality, his love of his country and his faith in the future.

And this is why decadent bourgeois culture is foreign to him. He has never understood it and never loved it. And it is especially hateful to him in this present historical moment when he approaches the long-dreamed of Communism toward which his eyes are directed.

Plamak (Sofia), May 1959

Black Market Theater

ALL THEATER under Communism is a State monopoly, run in both the political and economic interest of the State. Two years ago the Romanian press revealed the existence of so-called *susanea* bands of troupers which are, according to the regime, organized by fraud. *Scinteia Tineretului* (Bucharest), July 12, 1958, described their operations as follows:

"As is known, apart from other 'triumphs' of fashion which run counter to decency and good taste (the sack dress, the coiffure so becomingly called 'Typhus,' etc.), in the world of pseudo-artists there is a practice called *susanea*. This phenomenon has its roots in the rotten customs of the old-time theater.

"How is a *susanea* organized? To begin with there must be an 'activator.' Let us suppose, for example, that the crooner Aldo Sollini is such a one. He chooses a region in which the future company will do its stuff, his criterion that it be a paying one. In this case he chose the Constanta region: on the seacoast, a large area, with the additional advantage that the regional People's Council is full of persons of 'good will.' Golden opportunity! After many visits to the People's Council, Sollini [at last obtains] certification that Aldo Sollini, with a company of 10, is authorized to go on tour in the region for an unlimited period.

"Sollini then goes to Bucharest, signs on such artists for star billing as Lavinia Savcanu, Gianni Spinelli, Dan Georgescu, etc. The company thus formed and empowered with the authorization goes to Tulcea

[town in the Constanta region] which is the first stop of the tour.

"Although the performance took place, nobody in Tulcea knows who the artists really were. The group, supposedly composed of seven 'well-known Bucharest artists,' gave performances [throughout the Constanta region] and then vanished into thin air.

"As to the quality of the 'artistic goods' shown in the region by the 'well-known' members of the *susanea*, it can only be said that it was an improvisation of the lowest taste, insulting to the audience; a collection of items taken from the storehouse of the old theatrical companies of regrettable memory and from the decadent music of the West. . . . How can the regional People's Council of Constanta . . . facilitate the spread of such dangerous viruses? How long can dubious theater companies such as the one which is now doing its stuff in Mangalia . . . go on working?"

The July 13, 1958 issue of *Steagul Rosu* continued the anti-*susanea* campaign, singling out "a bunch of business-like impressarios" who, armed with a complete "arsenal of bourgeois business practices," organize *susaneas* in the Bucharest region. Among the crimes and malpractices charged up to them were: obtaining authorization certificates by hoodwinking the People's Councils and mass organizations; using invented names of performers in their advertisements; issuing bogus tickets at 10 lei per ticket; attempting to evade the income tax; and striking off the program an advertised series of valuable local folk songs.

(Continued from page 21)

was very hard for you then."

The woman shrugged. "No harder than for you, but I just couldn't stand it." She blushed when she added, "All this time I took care not to have a child by him."

The soldier turned around, walked to the window, and wiped his eyes.

"How about the Peznanszky plant? Is it still standing?"

"Yes."

"Are they working?"

"Yes."

"I could probably go back to them. After all, I'd been working there for fourteen years."

They had nothing else to say. One more thing had to be said, but they couldn't go on talking until it was. "Are you coming back to me?" the soldier asked from the win-

dow, and the woman felt that his broad back in its grey flannel shirt was staring at her as if it had eyes of its own.

"Yes," she answered simply.

There was silence again, the doubly heavy silence of death and creation. The soldier turned around, picked up the stranger's brown suitcase and went out of the room. "Don't come here any more," he said to the man in the corridor. "If you have any other things left here, I'll bring them to your office tomorrow. You see, Mary doesn't need you any more."

He closed the door and returned to the room. The woman was unpacking his knapsack. He watched her for a while, then sat down near her on the old chair.

"Well," he asked, "how is life here nowadays?"

Translated by Agnes Dobos.

A WOMAN'S PLACE . . .

In Eastern Europe, the feminists have won. The emancipation of women has been hailed as one of the Communists' great achievements, particularly since they have given women the right to work. Unfortunately for the new Eve, equality in the factory usually turns out to mean equality for men only; the newspapers admit that there is still widespread discrimination against women in pay, working conditions and chances for advancement. Hope shines eternal, particularly when it is part of the reigning ideology, and every year the Soviet bloc celebrates International Women's Day as if the new birth of freedom were an established fact. This year someone in the Hungarian radio studios decided to take a shot at the hypocrisy of some factory managers and foremen who pay only lip service to women's rights. He produced the following story of a man named Csopaki, a department chief in the Irtex textile factory.

"Csopaki was a great admirer of the female sex. Not only was he an admirer, but he was, in turn, admired greatly by women. Particularly the women in his factory who dreamt of the day when Csopaki would become manager and they become department chiefs. One day, their dreams came true. Csopaki was made manager. The next day, their dreams were shattered. Csopaki, though he admired the female sex, did not appoint women as department chiefs or even as group leaders.

"Soon after, Csopaki explained to me that equality of rights was a rather intangible idea. It meant nothing that Kato Szemere and Sandor Peteri had similar qualifications for a job; the two of them could not be considered of equal value, even if Kato Szemere was cleverer and more capable of leadership. 'The two

are not equal,' Csopaki insisted, 'because Kato Szemere is now engaged, will soon get married and will then have a child. One cannot allow a department chief to go away on maternity leave.' That is how Sandor Peteri became head of the finance department, and Kato Szemere remained a subordinate in the planning department.

"But this did not discourage Pirike or others among the female workers . . . who felt that they could compete with men and were the rightful heirs to those positions of department chief which were now open. . . . They were disappointed. Quickly, Csopaki appointed as department heads three group leaders, all men. But the women did not give up hope. There was a group leader position open. This would be something, they reflected, because until now no woman had ever been a group leader in the Irtex factory.

"Csopaki himself realized that Mrs. Kovacs would be a good group leader. 'Why not make her one?' I asked.

"How in the devil could a mother of two children perform the duties of group leader at the Irtex?" he answered.

"After all this, Csopaki asked me yesterday to prepare a speech for him for International Women's Day in which he would praise equal rights for women. He said he would like to make an elevated, stirring address. And before the ceremony, he explained, 'Every woman working at Irtex will receive a piece of chocolate and a bouquet of snowdrops together with an elegant greeting card. I want these brave women and mothers to feel how much they are valued in this factory.'"

(Radio Budapest, February 28.)

Like Voltaire, the Communists seem to think that history is "only a pack of tricks we play upon the dead." What are the consequences?



Signing the Nazi-Soviet pact on August 23, 1939. Left to right: the German foreign minister Joachim von Ribbentrop; Soviet dictator Stalin; two German officials; Soviet foreign minister Vyacheslav Molotov; and the German ambassador to Moscow, Count von Schulenburg.

WIDE WORLD photo

History Revisited

SINCE THE MEETING between Soviet Premier Khrushchev and American President Eisenhower at Camp David last September, the world has been given some reason to hope that the two super-powers will withdraw from the arms race which has characterized their diplomacy over the past ten years. This hope finds expression in the phrase "peaceful coexistence"—which might be realistically translated as "struggle without resort to arms." Whether the conflict between the Soviet bloc and the non-Communist powers can, in fact, be restricted to the "peaceful" weapons of politics, propaganda and trade is a question yet to be answered. The answer will depend to some extent on whether the Soviet Union and the West can agree upon some of the basic facts of life. If reality is only what

the propagandists say it is, and if the shape of it is to be refashioned every few years to suit the requirements of the men in the Kremlin, then the hope for a *modus vivendi* may prove to be an illusion.

In discussing the current Soviet foreign policy posture, Mr. George Kennan, former US Ambassador to the USSR, pointed out that peaceful coexistence has been and is being damaged by the Communist distortion of history. As long as "Russia remakes the facts," what hope is there for an open dialogue between East and West? "The very cultivation of these distortions," said Kennan, "seeking as it does the obfuscation of public understanding of the historical development of the relations between the Soviet Union and the West, is itself a grievous disservice to any

truly hopeful form of coexistence."¹ Nowhere is the distortion of history more evident than in the Soviet and Satellite interpretations of World War II.

At times, the USSR stuck to its story—no matter what the facts—but as often as not it has blandly reversed itself. A war in which Germany was "innocent" and France and Britain the "aggressors" soon turned into "an anti-Fascist war"; ten years later, it was described as having been "an imperialistic war" up to the moment of Germany's attack on the USSR. Voltaire said that history is, after all, "only a pack of tricks we play upon the dead." Doubtless all nations to some degree have used history to justify their own national aspirations; Communist historians, however, have taken excessive liberties in this respect and, in addition, have forbidden any interpretation but the official one.

"It cannot be denied that it was not Germany who attacked France and Britain, but France and Britain who attacked Germany, thus assuming responsibility for the present war," Stalin said in *Pravda*, November 30, 1939. After Germany attacked the USSR, however, the character of the war changed radically:

"Unlike the First World War, the Second World War against the Axis States from the very outset assumed the character of an anti-Fascist war, a war of liberation. . . . The entry of the Soviet Union into the war against the Axis could only enhance, and indeed did enhance, the anti-Fascist and liberation character of the Second World War. It was on this basis that the anti-Fascist coalition of the Soviet Union, the United States of America, Great Britain and other freedom-loving States came into being." (Stalin—*Pravda*, February 10, 1946.)

Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev has since re-revised Stalin's ideas. Again, it was not until Germany violated the Nazi-Soviet non-aggression pact and attacked the USSR that the war became a "war of liberation." From 1939 to 1941 the contest was not between Fascism and democracy but simply between two forms of imperialism:

"International imperialism diligently fostered the blood-thirsty beast of Hitlerism and supported the Nazi thugs when they fanned up hatred of Communism and of the Soviet Union among the German people. The imperialists openly incited Nazi Germany against our country in their pursuit of far-reaching aims. The imperialists ultimately succeeded in kindling the flames of World War II, hoping to improve their affairs at the expense of the Soviet Union. But Hitler made his own correctives to the course of events. His first blows were struck . . . against the Western powers themselves. Then, intoxicated by his easy victories, Hitler launched his predatory campaign in the East and attacked the Soviet Union." (Nikita Khrushchev—as reported by TASS, March 26, 1959.)

Nothing seems to have plagued the Communist apologists quite so much as the signing of the nonaggression pact with Nazi Germany in August 1939, and the partition of Poland the following month. That the USSR had no other choice—that the pact gave the USSR time to arm—is one usual explanation. That the USSR was forced into this partition by the dilatory tactics of the French and British is still another. Until the Soviet archives are opened to Western

historians, the whole truth will never be known. But to sup with the Devil requires a long spoon—if Hitler was the Devil, Stalin's spoon was never quite long enough. From September 1939 to June 1941, Communist Parties outside the Soviet Union either sided with the Axis propagandists or simply kept silent. In any case, the conclusion of the Nazi-Soviet pact allowed Hitler to conquer Poland, then divert his troops to the West without the immediate worry of an Eastern front.

THE NAZI-SOVIET PACT

ALTHOUGH THE Hitler-Stalin shift is by now a familiar story, some of the details are worth repeating before examining the Satellites' particular revision of history. On April 15, 1939, talks began in Moscow between the British Ambassador and the Soviet Foreign Minister Maxim Litvinov. The following day the Soviet government proposed a united front of mutual assistance between Great Britain, France and the USSR: this would also have included a guarantee to the Central and Eastern European nations against possible German aggression. As Winston Churchill has pointed out, the main obstacle to such an agreement "was the terror of these same border countries of receiving Soviet help in the shape of Soviet armies marching through their territories to defend them from the Germans, and incidentally incorporating them in the Soviet-Communist system of which they were the most vehement opponents. Poland, Romania, Finland, and the three Baltic States did not know whether it was German aggression or Russian rescue that they dreaded more. It was this hideous choice that paralyzed British and French policy."²

Sir Winston concluded that "even in the after light," Britain and France should have accepted the Soviet proposal. By this move, Germany would have been threatened on all sides by the superior power of the Allies and war might have been averted. This conclusion was written prior to 1948; within the year, all of Eastern Europe was incorporated into the Soviet orbit. Russian "rescue" had indeed proved costly.

In any case, between the Scylla of German aggression



Soviet and German officers meet at the partition line, October 1939.
EAST EUROPE photo

and the Charybdis of Soviet guarantees, Western policy foundered. On May 3, Moscow announced that Litvinov had been relieved of his post and that Molotov would replace him. As Churchill put it: "The eminent Jew, the target of German antagonism, was flung aside for the time being like a broken tool, and, without being allowed a word of explanation, was bundled off the world stage to obscurity, a pittance, and police supervision." From then on, the German government shifted its diplomatic attack from the USSR to the Western allies. During the month of May the USSR was evidently conducting two negotiations: one with the West and one with Germany. On August 23, a nonaggression pact between Germany and the USSR was concluded. In a secret agreement Berlin permitted Latvia, Estonia and Finland to be considered part of the Soviet sphere, and a demarcation line was drawn for the partition of Poland, and later, of Lithuania. Germany also expressed her "lack of interest" in Bessarabia.

The German attack on Poland began at dawn, September 1. In three weeks the German victory was assured. On September 17, the Soviet armies crossed the eastern frontier, occupying Vilna and joining up with the Germans at Brest-Litovsk; the remnants of the Polish Army were liquidated by the Soviet forces. On the twenty-ninth, the Russo-German treaty partitioning Poland was signed.

Yesterday's Truths

Ignoring the fact that the immediate cause of World War II was the response of the Western allies to the Ger-



POLISH FACTS AND FIGURES (New York), 1944

THE OCCUPATION OF EASTERN POLAND

Although the Soviets maintained before the world that they were only occupying Poland's eastern territories in 1939 in order to safeguard their own country, in reality they were planning to dismember the Polish State and to make the eastern lands an integral part of the Soviet Union. To do this smoothly, it was necessary to crush Polish resistance. The eyewitness account that follows outlines the methods the USSR used to pursue its aims:

Following the invasion, rule over the occupied territories was placed in the hands of the NKVD [the Soviet secret police] which, in itself, created an atmosphere of terror. Cities were divided into districts in which newly-created police outposts were placed under the jurisdiction of NKVD officers. One of the first actions of the new authorities was to call meetings of house superintendents. An NKVD officer issued to all present detailed instructions concerning their duties, and especially the following: careful observation of all tenants in the building, their source of income, way of life, detailed information concerning un-reported day and overnight visitors in a given apartment, etc. Such decentralized administration methods quickly placed the entire population of a given city under close police surveillance.

The superintendents were ordered to submit daily reports on their observations. Each one had the right to enter every apartment at any hour of the day or night. Within a few days they became the masters of the lives and destinies of the entire urban population. The people, however, quickly realized that these men had been forced to become the eyes and ears of the NKVD and began either playing up to them or avoiding their scrutiny. Of course many of the superintendents, instead of informing on people, actually protected them by warning their tenants of impending danger, hiding those threatened with arrest, etc. In other words, taking advantage of their privileged position, they frequently helped their tenants until they were found out by the NKVD, after which they often paid with their own freedom.

Accompanying the organization of the police surveillance, the Soviet authorities also deprived the courts and all State-administered institutions of the right to pursue their activities, although they left the administration of the banks, territorial and economic self-governing organizations in the hands of Polish functionaries; these were placed under the supervision of so-called commissars closely cooperating with the NKVD. Factory and industrial plants were put in the hands of workers' councils supervised by commissars.

In the countryside, committees were formed, composed of farmhands and landless peasants. Distribution of land was begun. Farm property was often looted, however, and there were murders of landowners, their families, and overseers. The Soviet authorities kept informing the peasantry that landowners were plunderers of social property and that their estates grew and prospered by exploiting the peasants. Eventually, all land was nationalized and supervised by special administrators affiliated with the NKVD.

The basis of the Soviet program was the "downward equation." This became strikingly apparent in the field of

housing policy. The new regulations called for 7 square yards of living space per person, which often meant four families per one four-room-cum-kitchen apartment. People were no longer masters of their own homes; they spoke in whispers, fearing their unknown co-tenants and the fact that their apartments could be entered at any time by the superintendent or the police. All this was accomplished by grotesque bits of propaganda which often backfired. For example, a worker's family, living in a small house in the suburbs, had a modest garden where they raised chickens and rabbits. "The protectors of the working people" decided that the family had been socially wronged and insisted on moving them into a large city apartment which had been confiscated from a "petit bourgeois" shopkeeper. This was done with great fanfare: there were speeches, press clippings, photographs of the worker's family and an official presentation of the new apartment. Unwilling to leave their animals behind, however, the lucky family transported their entire livestock to the new apartment. Several days later, the housing authorities confiscated the whole chicken and rabbit farm, since it was ruining State property. Within a week the family, unused to city life, quietly moved out of the building.

In those first months following the Soviet occupation the most dynamic economy was what might be described as "an economy of plunder." Warehouses and shops were stripped of their goods, medicines were taken out of the pharmacies, furnishings from offices, and everything was shipped east. Due to these extreme measures, a near famine occurred; the black market became virtually the only way food and other necessities could be obtained. The city changed visibly, becoming gray, poorly lit, with boarded-up stores and deserted streets. As the months passed conditions worsened, for by now it was evident that the Soviets intended to eliminate the Polish population either by deportation or by death, and to incorporate the eastern territories into the USSR. The first group to suffer was the bourgeoisie, often branded as criminals by the authorities. But the arrests were initially surrounded by the fiction that the accused had persecuted the proletariat. Denunciation of your fellow citizens became the order of the day as the "class struggle" was sharpened; then, as the arrests increased, any legal justification for them became almost nonexistent.

By the fall of 1940, the greater portion of the bourgeoisie and intelligentsia had been eliminated. Now, elections were held with the outcome already decided: the occupied Polish territories became a new Soviet Republic and the people were given Soviet citizenship. Even refugees from Western Poland were permitted no choice in the matter: either you accepted Soviet citizenship or you were considered a political prisoner under the threat of imprisonment or execution.

The tragic dénouement came in the summer of 1941 when the USSR was invaded by German troops. The Polish people were caught in the vice of their enemies. People were herded into railway cars and shipped east, and prisoners the Soviets had no time to evacuate were simply shot. Those remaining were left to the 'mercy' of the German Army. In this manner, Poland's eastern territories were virtually cleansed of political opposition. It took only 21 months.

man attack on Poland, the Communists have reversed the order of things. They see France and Great Britain encouraging Nazi Germany to destroy Poland and the USSR. If such was the case, why did the West bother to declare war at all? The answer: the West had raised a German monster which turned on its creators. The following is a typical rendition of this idea:

"The Western democracies laboriously tried in 1939 to turn German Fascism against the Soviet Union. . . . They saw in Fascism the instrument which they could wield to crush the workers' movement throughout the world—this is why they supported Hitler. . . . True, the war took a different course from the one Paris, London and Washington hoped for. The Fascist wild beast raised by them—like the spirit of Goethe's sorcerer's apprentice set free—refused to obey and jumped at the throat of the masters who had nourished it."²

As for the rôle of Poland, Party boss Wladyslaw Gomulka has seen his country as "a pawn light-heartedly sacrificed by the men of Munich in the hope that the Wehrmacht, after quickly and easily defeating our country, would find itself face to face with the Soviet Army . . . fostering the conception which lay at the core of the Munich policies: propel the Third Reich against the USSR."³

In 1939, the Communist apologists in Eastern Europe cited the failure of the Western allies to negotiate with the

These Polish children were sent to Siberia by the Soviet occupation. "SPRAWIEDLIWOSC SOWIECKA," by S. Mora and P. Zwierniak; Italy, 1945



USSR as the primary reason for the signing of the pact. The clandestinely published Bulgarian Party organ, *Rabotnichesko Delo*, September 8, 1939, admitted that the non-aggression pact had caused "a disturbance in our democratic circles." The USSR "has even been accused of betraying the democracies of Europe—England and France." But this criticism was "groundless." On the contrary, the Western allies wanted to "use" the Soviet Union, and although they were not Fascist countries, they were also not the "standard-bearers of democracy and peace."

"They are doing everything possible . . . to throw Germany against the USSR and later the Soviet Union against Germany," the article concluded, "and this is why we repeat that they are not only not the defenders of peace, but rather the inciters of war."

Twenty years later the pact was also hailed as a shrewd device of the USSR to gain time to arm. In Czechoslovakia the pact was termed an "historic mission." It not only destroyed the long effort [by France and England] to create "a world-imperialist coalition against the only Socialist country," but it also gave "the only consistently anti-Fascist force—the Soviet people—an important, although limited, period of preparation for the repulsion and later complete destruction of the Fascist aggressor."⁵ The argument that the USSR was forced into signing the pact after it had failed to come to agreement with England and France was repeated. For this reason, the "criminal plans of the imperialists against Socialism did not materialize." This conclusion "corrects" the thesis which prevailed in past years "among our Party propagandists" and according to which the Second World War "had the character of an anti-Fascist war of liberation from the very start."⁶

During the period between the signing of the pact and the German attack on Russia, the Communist Parties of Eastern Europe did not hesitate to brand the allies as the aggressors against Germany and even as the potential enemies of the Balkan States. In 1940, *Rabotnichesko Delo*, May 5, accused the West of trying to stop Bulgaria's trade

with Nazi Germany and of desiring "to turn the Balkans into a battlefield." A cruel irony occurred thirteen months later when the Bulgarian Party Central Committee issued an appeal to the Bulgarian people which ended with these words: "Not one grain of Bulgarian wheat, not one piece of Bulgarian bread to the German Fascists and plunderers!"

THE FATE OF POLAND

POLAND SUFFERED THE immediate consequences of the Nazi-Soviet Pact. Communist historians, of course, have blamed the prewar Polish government for rejecting Soviet assistance, thus providing one more justification for the Berlin-Moscow rapprochement. Nevertheless, once the pact was signed there was nothing to stand in the way of a quick German victory in the east, particularly since Moscow had agreed in a secret protocol to partition the Polish State. The secret August 23 accord has never been acknowledged publicly by the Polish Communists; they have recognized, however, that the pact may *seem* to have paved the way for Hitler's attack. The Polish historian Karol Lapter admitted last year that there are people who still connect the outbreak of the war with the signing of the German-Soviet pact. He went on to point out that Hitler had decided as early as 1937 to conquer Poland in order to reach the border of the Soviet Union.⁷ His conclusion—"even if there had been no German-Soviet non-aggression pact Hitler's 1939 attack on Poland would have occurred anyway"—begs the question. The Polish offensive was launched by Germany one week after the pact was concluded. At the very least, the pact made the timing of the attack and the quick defeat of the Poles inevitable.

Once the German victory seemed assured, Stalin was anxious to find a pretext for intervention by the Soviet Union. On September 10, Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov informed German Ambassador Schulenburg that the Soviet government "had intended to take the occasion of the further advance of German troops to declare that Poland was falling apart and that it was necessary for the Soviet Union, in consequence, to come to the aid of the Ukrainians and the White Russians 'threatened' by Germany. This argument was to make the intervention of the Soviet Union plausible to the masses and at the same time avoid giving the Soviet Union the appearance of the aggressor."⁸

With the defeat and occupation of Poland by the Soviet and German armies, further agreements were concluded between Moscow and Berlin. On September 28, the final line of partition was established along the four rivers Pisa, Narew, Bug and San. A population of 12 million people and a territory of 76,500 square miles were handed over to the USSR. In a Common Declaration the two governments said that "after [having] definitely settled the problems arising from the collapse of the Polish State," both governments would try to end the European war; should their efforts prove "fruitless," this would demonstrate the fact "that England and France are responsible for the continuation of the war, whereupon . . . the Governments



Soviet and German officers at dinner in October 1939 at Przemyśl, a Polish town near the Russo-German border drawn after partition.

EAST EUROPE photo



The German and Soviet armies meet in Poland in September 1939. A Soviet tank man chats with German soldiers at Brest-Litovsk. WIDE WORLD photo

of Germany and the USSR shall engage in mutual consultations with each other."⁹

As a footnote to the German-Soviet collusion, it is worth repeating Molotov's epitaph to the destruction of Poland when he spoke before the Supreme Soviet, October 31, 1939: "The ruling circles of Poland used to boast quite a lot about the 'stability' of their State and the 'might' of their army. However, it needed only one swift blow to Poland, first by the German army and then by the Red Army, and nothing remained of this ugly offspring of the Versailles Treaty, which had existed by oppressing non-Polish nationalities."¹⁰ This statement strongly implies that the USSR was not only hostile to the prewar anti-Communist government of Poland, but to the very existence of a Polish State.

In the twenty months which followed the Soviet occupation, 220,000 soldiers and officers of the Polish Army were deported to Soviet Russia. Of these, about 14,000 regular and reserve officers were placed in three camps, Kozielsk, Ostashkow and Starobielsk. The vast majority of these men died in the "Katyn Massacre," executed by the USSR.*

Polish Communists, while ignoring the German-Soviet secret protocol, have adopted the Soviet point of view, i.e., that the Soviet occupation of Eastern Poland was necessary in order to protect the Ukrainians and White Russians.

*The Soviet Union has always maintained that the Katyn grave, discovered by the Germans in 1943, was a German atrocity. Strong evidence that the Russians were responsible has never been successfully refuted, since the USSR has consistently refused to allow an international commission to examine Katyn.

The present Soviet-Polish frontier has been established on roughly the same lines as the German-Russian partition.

Soviet annexation of the Polish eastern territories has been openly accepted by the Polish Party leaders. On the fifteenth anniversary of the Nazi attack, Politburo member Edward Ochab stated: "Every honest Polish patriot is glad from the bottom of his heart that the lands of the Western Ukraine, Western Byelorussia and Lithuania were forever delivered from the rule of Polish landowners and united with the maternal Soviet Republics, whose brotherly friendship helped us to regain our territories in the region of the Oder River and the Baltic Sea."¹¹

Regarding the Katyn massacre, Polish Communists have not only supported the Soviet point of view, but have accused the Polish government-in-exile in London during the war of aiding Hitler in spreading the lie that Soviet troops murdered the Polish officers.¹²

HISTORY AND KHRUSHCHEV

HISTORY IS NOT A dead issue. Facts can be twisted, ignored, forgotten, resurrected, but with each peregrination of the Party line the opportunism becomes more apparent. The Party does not present these revisions as pragmatic attempts to adjust to changing political fortunes—which, in large measure, they are. Instead, history itself undergoes a sea change. There must be no debate, no uncertainty: a new matrix must be cast and what doesn't fit must be chipped away. In the end, the obscurantists are often embarrassed by their own inconsistencies. It is hardly

likely, for example, that French President de Gaulle had forgotten that the Soviet Premier who visited his country last March had previously labelled France as an imperialist nation responsible for the outbreak of the Second World War, even though he now hailed France as a nation which fought side by side with the Soviet Union "in the struggle

against their common enemy . . . the German aggressors."¹²

Khrushchev has repeatedly told the Western powers that he wishes to liquidate the German problem. The difficulty of doing this will certainly not be lessened if Communist historians continue periodically to rewrite their texts. An East-West understanding presumes that both sides can some-

PARTY HISTORY IN HUNGARY

Hungarian Communists are still rewriting the history of the 1956 Hungarian Revolt. The job is difficult, because Kadar's penmen must balance precariously between two problems. They are forced to admit that the Stalinist policies which led to the Revolt were wrong, but at the same time they must fight the "revisionists" in their own ranks who have argued for less tyranny and more democracy. The Kadarists maintain that the "revisionists" did much to weaken the Party before 1956 by distorting the history of Communism in Hungary and thus helped to prepare the way for the Revolt. At a Conference of Marxist-Leninist Historians, held in Budapest last summer, one of Kadar's men held forth in the following manner:

"The attack directed against Marxist writing of history and particularly against the writing of Party history was part of the general campaign which helped prepare the 1956 counterrevolution. . . . How does revisionism manifest itself concretely in the writing of Hungarian history? First of all, in the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Hungarian historians influenced by revisionist ideas praise every effort by the workers to achieve and extend bourgeois democracy. When the Party orders certain tasks to be performed to promote Socialism, these men launch a furious tirade against them. For example, a university lecturer recently explained that the creation of the 1919 Hungarian Soviet Republic was hasty, and therefore incorrect. This view is not new; the Social Democrats have always professed it. What is new is that this worn-out eyewash is being served up today with a Marxist-Leninist dressing.

"The revisionists do not recognize any positive aspects to the policy which our Party followed in the second, Socialist stage of the people's democratic development.

They object to the fact that after 1948-49 we turned to the direct struggle for Socialist measures. . . . No matter how peculiar this is, our revisionists generally consider the history of the Communist International only as a series of sectarian errors. In their opinion . . . though we must not reject retrospectively the Leninist teaching and practice of proletarian dictatorship, we should look upon this in the future as a museum piece, and replace it by some variety of so-called 'plebeian democracy.'

"In June 1956, Gyorgy Lukacs [former university professor and member of the 1956 Imre Nagy government, now reportedly hospitalized in Budapest] expounded his theory about the permanent struggle between the two lines within our Party. According to him, there was a 'sectarian trend,' allegedly represented by Bela Kun [founder of the 1919 Hungarian Soviet] and there was an 'anti-sectarian trend,' to which Lukacs himself and Imre Nagy belonged. This entire theory is in contradiction to historical fact; however, we still meet its remnants today.

Beware of Nationalism

"According to the revisionist conceptions, sectarian mistakes are so characteristic of the entire history of our Party that they completely exclude the positive results. . . . The revisionists try to depict the history of the Party and working class in the darkest colors. Some even find a 'theoretical motivation' in all this, saying that Party history writing must be concerned primarily with the mistakes of the Party, since it is precisely from these errors that the most useful lessons for the future can be drawn. Ignoring facts, the revisionists make the struggle of the Party appear as if it had been directed

SOURCES FOR THIS ARTICLE

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² W. S. Churchill, *THE GATHERING STORM*, Houghton-Mifflin Co., Boston, 1948, p. 362

³ *TARSADALMI SZEMLE* (Budapest), February 1948, June 1958, August-September 1959

⁴ *TRYBUNA LUDU* (Warsaw), July 22, 1959

⁵ Radio Bratislava, August 30, 1959

⁶ *PRAVDA* (Bratislava), December 19, 1959

⁷ *POLITYKA* (Warsaw), October 24, 1959

⁸ John A. Lukacs, *THE GREAT POWERS AND EASTERN EUROPE*, American Book Company, New York, 1953, p. 256.

⁹ *IBID.*, p. 259

¹⁰ *PRAVDA* (Moscow), November 1, 1939

¹¹ *TRYBUNA LUDU*, September 2, 1954

¹² *SZTANDAR MŁODYCH* (Warsaw), March 29, 1952

¹³ *THE NEW YORK TIMES*, March 24, 1960

¹⁴ *NOWA KULTURA* (Warsaw), July 19, 1959

how agree upon what happened in the past, and how and why. As the Polish poet Antonin Slonimski said recently: "A healthy semantic cure is the indispensable first step toward saving our civilization."¹⁴ Nowhere is this more necessary than in the countries of Eastern Europe where historical fact has been replaced by Communist legend.

not against the bourgeoisie, but only against Social Democracy. In the course of one debate, they attempted to shift the responsibility for the initial successes of Hitler's fascism upon the Communist Parties, and on another occasion, the blame for the tense international situation which developed in 1949. . . . In their opinion, the development of the popular democratic revolution in Hungary was primarily the result of the presence of Soviet troops. Since they deprecate the decisive role played by the people in history, it is upon the people and not upon certain classes that they put the blame for the development of fascism, for the war and for the counterrevolution. . . .

"Nationalism is the characteristic feature of the revisionist writing of history. . . . In the period preceding the counterrevolution, some historians produced again the old imperialistic theories about 'Hungarian cultural superiority' and Hungary's 'right' to dominate the Danube valley. . . . Some historians were affected by Imre Nagy's nationalist phrase about 'the national unity embracing all Hungarians.' By artificially recalling the 1848 Hungarian Revolution, they forged an ideological weapon which was then utilized by the counterrevolution. The freedom fight which took place one hundred years ago was directed against Russia, which is understandable, but the anti-Soviet content belongs to the nationalism of the revisionists. When our revisionists advocated the necessity for Hungarian national characteristics and 'the Hungarian road to Socialism,' the substance of this was the rejection of the common laws of the Socialist transformation for every country, and particularly the experiences of the Soviet Union, and at the same time, they unconditionally recognized the 'Yugoslav Road.'"

Beke es Szocializmus (Budapest), January 1960

A second article will examine other aspects of Communist historiography. These will include the Warsaw and Slovak Uprisings, the Soviet bloc's changing view of Tito, the Slansky case in Czechoslovakia, and the conflicting interpretations of the Hungarian Revolt.

HUNGARIAN YOUTH AND WORLD WAR II

A questionnaire, sent out to 500 pupils in nine high schools in Budapest, included the following questions. "What is fascism?" "What do you know about Hitler?" "Who were the SS troops and the Gestapo? What do you know about Auschwitz, Buchenwald and Dachau?" "What were the most important events in the Second World War? What was Hungary's role in that war?" Here are some of the answers, as reported by the Yugoslav daily *Borba* (Belgrade), March 6:

"Regarding fascism, the boys correctly outlined its characteristics — extreme nationalism, terror, aggressiveness — but they have a one-sided view of the whole matter because they know only 'German fascism.' About Italian, Spanish or Bulgarian fascism, many youths know nothing . . . while Hungarian fascism is not mentioned at all.

"What about Hitler? This question produced answers which . . . give rise to serious worries: a mad sadist, an uneducated knave, the greatest man of Germany, military leader, writer, revolutionary, party leader, liberator of the German nation, SS officer and murderer of Jews.

"As for the most significant events in World War II, the boys mentioned the battle of Stalingrad and the liberation of Hungary. A large number referred to the battle in the Don Region . . . where the Second Hungarian Army which was directed to the Eastern Front by [Regent] Horthy perished. Little is known of the fighting on other fronts in Western Europe, Italy or Africa, or of the conferences at Yalta, Teheran or Potsdam. The pupils gave correct answers as a whole about the SS troops, the Gestapo and the concentration camps at Buchenwald, Auschwitz and Dachau. The organizers of the inquiry remarked that the Jews alone were mentioned as victims in these camps, while no reference was made to tens and hundreds of thousands of Russians, Yugoslavs, Poles, French and others.

"The roles of the Hungarian reactionary politicians . . . who carried out the preparations for World War II were likewise unknown to most of the young students. On the other hand, they know that Hungary sided with Hitler during the war, but the role of Horthy is not quite clear to them, because many stated that at first Hungary hesitated, and only later 'was compelled' to enter the alliance with Hitler.

"What would have happened to the Hungarians, had Hitler proved triumphant? In their reply to this question the majority of youths indicated that this would have marked the end of the Hungarian nation. The organizers of the inquiry were worried by the receipt of such answers as: 'In the event of Hitler's victory Hungary would have again acquired the territories which belonged to her in 1848, so that it would have had a seacoast,' and 'with Hitler's victory we would have gained a lot, because our life would be more civilized,' adding that 'the country would be richer.'"

Current Developments

INTERNATIONAL:

Romania settles US financial claims, March 30 (p. 43).

President Sukarno of Indonesia visits Bulgaria, Romania and Hungary (p. 41).

East German Communists announce the completion of their drive to collectivize agriculture, April 14 (p. 1).

POLITICAL:

Poland offers new incentives to settlers in the Western Territories (p. 42).

Hungarian Communists celebrate the 15th anniversary of their "liberation" by Soviet troops on April 4, and release some political prisoners (p. 45).

Romanian Communists prepare for their Third Party Congress (p. 48).

Czechoslovak Communists celebrate the 15th anniversary of the liberation of Slovakia on April 4 (p. 44).

ECONOMIC:

Hungarian regime struggles to consolidate its new collective farms (p. 47).

Polish planners seek to overcome difficulties in the merchandising of consumer goods, reduce some prices (p. 43).

AREAWIDE

KHRUSHCHEV IN FRANCE

Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev's tour of France (March 23-April 4) received wide coverage in Eastern Europe. His speeches were printed in full, and most commentators simply echoed his sentiments for a Franco-Soviet alliance as a safeguard against future "German aggression." The Polish Party organ *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), April 4, said: "The USSR Premier captivated the French not only by his directness and simplicity, but by his numerous and sincere warnings against the threat of German militarism—dangerous primarily to France—and his deep emotions in Verdun—which moved all hearts and minds."

The current Communist version of how the Western powers encouraged German aggression in 1939 by "rejecting collaboration with the USSR" was evoked by the Sofia daily *Rabotnichesko Delo*, March 23, and led to the inevitable conclusion that Soviet-French cooperation was still necessary for "the suppression of German militarism and revanchism."

SOVIET BLOC AT GENEVA

Western proposals for measured disarmament under measured control were severely criticized by the five Com-

munist representatives at the ten-nation disarmament conference which began on March 15 in Geneva. The USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Romania formed a solid front in defending Soviet Premier Khrushchev's demand for "general and complete disarmament" with specific control measures to be worked out later. The West countered with a three-stage plan containing detailed inspection and control measures, but the Soviet bloc refused to discuss this proposal until the West accepted the principles of the Communist plan. At this impasse the conference bogged down, and both sides agreed to an adjournment from April 29 to June 6, with the hope that the summit meeting in May might cut the Gordian knot.

Communist propagandists, however, were kept busy attacking the Western proposals, particularly American unwillingness to liquidate foreign military bases without a prior agreement on a system of controls. Radio Bucharest's political commentator declared, March 21, that "the Western disarmament plan does not provide anything concerning the liquidation of military bases on foreign territories. While we are discussing disarmament, the representative of a NATO country, the German Federal Republic's Defense Minister Strauss, is conducting negotiations on setting up West German military bases in Balkan countries."

Typical of the criticism was this comment over Radio Sofia, April 8: "The Western representatives are simply demanding control without disarmament." Radio Prague declared on March 18 that the Western proposals amounted

only to "no universal disarmament on the basis of a precisely phased timetable."

COMECON BORDER COOPERATION

An agreement outlining joint development plans in frontier regions has been signed by Czechoslovakia and Hungary under the auspices of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance. (Radio Budapest, March 17.) The accord, second of its kind (a similar agreement exists between Poland and Czechoslovakia), provides for a pilot area—consisting of a belt 30 kilometers in width along the border from Szob to Salgotarjan on the Hungarian side and from Lucenec to Filakovo on the Czechoslovak side—where joint plans for regional development will begin.

YUGOSLAV-SOVIET BLOC DÉTENTE CONTINUES

For many months now, the guns of political warfare between Yugoslavia and the Soviet bloc countries have been stilled. Where once Sofia and Belgrade found common politeness an impossibility, their press and radio now chat of basketball contests between the two countries and cautiously praise each other's films. Occasional bickering still occurs. Radio Sofia, March 8, grew indignant because a Yugoslav correspondent had claimed that "Bulgarian wine is less well-known abroad because the exported wine is insufficiently prepared and substandard," and that Bulgarian writers and artists were having trouble "showing ardent enthusiasm, passionate love and unreserved loyalty toward the ideals of the present day."

Belgrade, in turn, was irritated by a Polish report in the Cracow weekly *Zdanie* picturing the Yugoslavs as "Mediterranean do-nothings," and making the following "discoveries":

"Of being hardly able to hear Serbo-Croatian spoken in Dubrovnik, because that city is too expensive for the Yugoslavs; of semi-wild areas in the central and southern parts of the country; of a complete state of primitiveness in the

south, where the living standard is so low that people have to use flint for striking fires, etc."

To this *Borba* (Belgrade), March 25, commented angrily: "By abusing the right of a witness to express his own observations, the author has consciously told untruths, adapted them to an imaginary atmosphere in Yugoslavia, and published a text full of hatred against our country."

The Albanians remain the least temperate in their behavior toward Yugoslavia. Party leaders seldom make a speech without criticizing the "Yugoslav revisionists," and the Party organ *Zeri i Popullit* (Tirana), March 26, published a lengthy critique of the Yugoslav economy which argued that "as a result of [Belgrade's] anti-Marxist policy . . . the material and economic position of the Yugoslav workers is becoming ever more difficult." The article concluded by predicting that the "rising cost of living" in Yugoslavia would inevitably lead "to misery and poverty, thus contradicting the fundamental interests of the Yugoslav workers."

Replying to the Albanian attacks, the Belgrade journal *Politika*, April 7, called the Albanian leaders "curious people," obliged to criticize Yugoslavia because they "fear that more free contacts between our two countries could be damaging to themselves."

Trade Unionists in Romania

A delegation of the Central Council of Yugoslav Trade Unions met with their counterparts in Bucharest, March 28-April 6, to discuss how the trade unions of the two countries plan and implement wage and premium norms for their workers. At the conclusion of the talks, a verbal agreement endorsed future exchanges of trade union delegations, lecturers and publications. (Radio Bucharest, April 7.)

Other signs of easier relations with the Soviet bloc were a Polish-Yugoslav trade agreement for the delivery of machinery between the two countries from 1961 to 1965, concluded April 1, and a cultural accord between Prague and Belgrade, signed March 15.

POLISH LIBRARIES

"After 1956 we gave the librarians the right to choose their books themselves. Theoretically it was a just action. In practice, however, the proper criteria for choosing books tended to be forgotten. An investigation has shown that the libraries almost completely ceased to purchase books on politically engaged subjects, the kind of books that shape the public's Socialist-philosophical outlook. The librarians were guided not by ideological values but by various sorts of snobbery and by the opinions of critics who too often forget that the lack of values in their criticism affects, among other things, the selection of library books."

From an article by the Minister of Culture and Art in *Polityka* (Warsaw), March 12



A Bulgarian comment on Africa.

STURSHEL (Sofia), March 11, 1960

SOCIALIST ALLIANCE CONGRESS OPENS

The Fifth Congress of the Socialist Alliance, a "popular front" organization of the Communist and Communist-backed Parties, opened in Belgrade April 18, with a welcoming speech by President Tito in which the Yugoslav leader sharply attacked West Germany as a danger to peace and praised Soviet Premier Khrushchev's disarmament proposals. Much of the speech was devoted to lauding Yugoslav economic achievements; there was no open attack on the Soviet bloc, although Tito suggested that critics of Yugoslav agriculture and industry wait for the facts and figures before writing of the "deterioration" of Belgrade's economy. Among the delegations sent as observers, only three Soviet bloc countries attended—Poland, Hungary and East Germany. (*The New York Times* April 19.)

SUKARNO TOURS SATELLITES

Indonesian President Sukarno spent part of April touring Bulgaria, Romania and Hungary. The official welcoming speeches repeated the familiar anti-colonialist line and praised Indonesia's "non-participation in aggressive military blocs." Sukarno replied with warm greetings for his "Socialist brothers," declaring that "together we shall march forward until imperialism is completely crushed." (*Radio Sofia*, April 9.)

POLAND

KADAR IN POLAND

The man who put down the 1956 Hungarian Revolt by calling in Soviet tanks was welcomed in Warsaw on March 16. He received an extremely quiet reception from the Polish people, but the Party organ *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), March 16, greeted him and his delegation with "satisfaction" for having repulsed "the attack launched by counterrevolutionary elements . . . against the Hungarian People's Republic." In speeches throughout the country the Hungarian leaders defended their suppression of the Revolt. At a State dinner in Warsaw on March 19, Kadar admitted that the peasantry had been reluctant to "choose Socialism as a new form of life." Other dangers which had confronted the Party in 1956 were the specters of "revisionism" and "dogmatism"—the latter including "mistakes of the former Party leadership." As for the workers, Kadar explained:

"The Hungarian workers in 1956 opposed not Socialism but the mistakes committed during the building of Socialism—the bad policy, the cult of the individual and its consequences which embittered the people. These mistakes have nothing to do with Socialism; they are all alien to Socialism and alien to our regime."

Polish Party leader Gomulka echoed Kadar: "By abusing the sectarian distortions of the leaders of the old Hungarian

A HORRIBLE THOUGHT

A Czechoslovak Communist writer, visiting the uranium mines at Jachymov, stumbled across one of the untold secrets of World War II:

During the war, under the Nazi occupation, mining operations [in Jachymov] proceeded at full steam. But we can't find credible evidence anywhere that wartime Germany processed uranium ore. . . . What, then, became of the treasure that was extracted from these woody hills?

Old miners, who worked here during the war, are firm in their belief that the ore was sent to Hamburg via the Elbe river. . . . The miners are convinced that Hitlerite Germany sold it to America through neutral countries.

How would that have been possible? Who knows? Not all the secret archives have been opened, but it has been sufficiently proved from other sources that wartime Germany was not completely isolated from the rest of the capitalist world—the Profit International saw to that. . . .

Nobody will be able to convince [the miners] otherwise, not even the archives. . . . But, even if we must qualify these speculations with an emphatic "alleged," it is a horrible thought that in the atom bomb which exploded over Hiroshima or Nagasaki there may have been so much as a single atom from here, from Jachymov.

Plamen (Prague), No. 3, 1960

"Whether you stand or whether you lie,
You receive two thousand anyway."

MAGAZYN POLSKI (Warsaw), February 1960



Party and taking advantage of the disorientation produced by the divisionists [the rebels] succeeded in 1956 in achieving a putsch and causing bloodshed in Hungary. But the Hungarian working class, the Hungarian Communists, were supported in their struggle against the counterrevolution by the working classes of all Socialist countries. . . . The Hungarian counterrevolution was annihilated." (*Trybuna Ludu*, March 20.)

The joint declaration at the end of the visit stressed "the solidarity and sincere friendship between the two nations." The USSR was wholeheartedly supported "in the matter of universal, absolute and controlled disarmament" and in its view "that the militaristic and revanchist power of West Germany constitutes a particular threat to peace in Europe and the entire world." Finally, the declaration "condemned cold war circles" aiming "to poison the international atmosphere by constantly bringing up the so-called Hungarian question and inciting a campaign of insults against the Hungarian People's Republic." (*Trybuna Ludu*, March 22.)

Trade Accord Signed

A five-year trade agreement was also concluded between the two countries, providing for a turnover of 2 billion foreign currency *zloty*. Major items of export from Poland will include industrial plants, railway cars and automobiles; from Hungary will come mainly machinery and equipment for the chemical and food industries. (*Trybuna Ludu*, March 22.)

STUDENTS' CONGRESS MEETS

More concessions wrested from the regime in the wake of the 1956 upheaval are being withdrawn, to judge from the speech by Party boss Wladyslaw Gomulka at the Fourth Congress of the Union of Polish Students (ZSP), held in Warsaw, March 24. The Communist leader announced that beginning with the 1960-61 academic year, scholarships will be sponsored by factories, people's councils, other enterprises, ministries, and social organizations. By accepting the stipends, however, students will be required to work for a certain length of time after graduation in an enterprise selected by the sponsoring organization. This practice was condemned in 1956 and since that time had fallen into disrepute. Gomulka also spoke of re-introducing Marxism-Leninism as a compulsory course in all schools. This, too, would be a retrogression from the Party's policy after 1956. (*Trybuna Ludu* [Warsaw], March 25.)

CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS

The uneasy truce between the Catholic Church and the regime may have been strengthened recently after a series of secret meetings between Party chief Gomulka and Polish Cardinal Wyszynski, according to Western correspondents in Warsaw. From the Church, the regime has allegedly received assurances of support in the struggle against apathy, theft of public property and disregard of work-discipline regulations. On the other hand, the government



Khrushchev in France: "Hello, Marianne!"

DIKOBRAZ (Prague), March 24, 1960

has apparently agreed not to interfere with religious instruction in the public school system. (*The New York Times*, March 25.) The Paris daily *Le Monde*, March 23, reported that Polish priests had been urged by their bishops to stress in their sermons "the positive tasks" of the Church rather than merely criticizing the State. The above reports have been confirmed by neither the Church nor the regime.

MINISTERIAL CHANGE

Marian Olewinski, Deputy Minister of Communications, has been named Minister of Construction and Construction Materials. The outgoing Construction Minister, Stefan Pietrusiewicz, has been given another, unspecified post by the government. (*Trybuna Ludu* [Warsaw], March 27.)

DIPLOMAT DEFECTS

Ryszard Krolicki, first secretary in the Polish Embassy in Indonesia, has defected to the West, according to *The New York Times*, March 23. When questioned by newsmen, embassy spokesman Tadeusz Etrulak explained that Krolicki had been suspected of "manipulating foreign currency."

POPULATING THE WESTERN TERRITORIES

New incentives are being offered to peasants to move out of the overpopulated rural areas of central and eastern Poland into the western and northern provinces. The latter area, known as the Western Territories, consists of former German provinces now under Polish rule. In March 1958 the government offered half a million hectares of State-owned land for sale to peasants, more than half of which was in the Western Territories. Prices in the west were 40 percent lower than elsewhere, and other terms were more favorable also.



Poland's Deputy Premier Piotr Jaroszewicz, who recently visited the United States. Here he is shown with President Eisenhower at the White House.

SWIAT (Warsaw), April 1, 1960

The period of payment for land in the Western Territories has now been extended from 20 to 30 years, the interest rate reduced, and the price of farm buildings lowered to half their present value. (*Trybuna Ludu* [Warsaw], March 15.)

PRICE CHANGES

In an effort to get rid of surplus stocks of manufactured consumer goods, the government announced price reductions on the following items, effective April 4: woolen textiles and clothing, 10 to 17 percent; non-leather sole shoes, 5 to 7 percent; wristwatches, 17 percent; radio and television tubes, an average of 40 percent; tiles, 15 percent; and coffee, 24 percent. Prices were raised on certain metal and chemical goods (nails, screws, cables, paints and lacquer) and on electrical appliances. While the price cuts will amount to about 1.4 billion *zloty* in sales volume annually, the price increases will total 450 million. (*Trybuna Ludu* [Warsaw], April 3.)

Supply, but No Demand

Since last fall's economic crisis, when the authorities found that the public preferred to spend its money on meat—in short supply—rather than on manufactured goods which were relatively plentiful though admittedly of poor quality, the government has been trying to restore balance in the market. It raised meat prices 25 percent, and also tightened up on wage funds and other expenditures which were thought to be inflationary. But industrial goods continued to pile up in the stores, and the sales of foodstuffs in the first two months of this year were 2.4 percent above the level of a year before, despite higher prices. Along with the new price changes, the government has taken other measures—an expansion of installment buying, and more

advertising—to shift consumer demand toward things that are available in the stores.

COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND WAGES CREATED

The Council of Ministers passed a draft law on March 31 creating a Committee on Labor and Wages to replace the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare. The new committee will be responsible for drafting employment and wage policy, preparing wages and norms, and elaborating general principles of social insurance policy.

A new Social Security Bureau, which replaces the former Central Administration of Social Security, will handle social insurance and pension policy. Other social welfare functions of the dissolved Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare will pass to the Ministry of Health, renamed the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare. (*Trybuna Ludu* [Warsaw], April 1.)

CUBAN TRADE AGREEMENT

A controversial trade agreement signed with the Cuban Government provides for deliveries of various industrial goods—including complete industrial plants, agricultural and construction machinery and electrotechnical equipment—to Cuba in exchange for agricultural products, minerals, leather, fruit and other goods. This accord, said to be a combination credit and barter agreement, allegedly includes the sale of helicopters and other aircraft to Cuba. (*The New York Times*, April 2.) Polish Deputy Premier Piotr Jaroszewicz, touring the United States at the time, said in Washington that, although he knew little about the trade pact, he was certain it “did not include military equipment.” The aircraft, he said, consist of small planes for agricultural purposes such as crop-dusting. (*The New York Times*, April 7.)

At a news conference on the following day, the Deputy Premier stated that the accord was only an “initial agreement”; actual contracts had not yet been negotiated. He added further that Poland would sell Cuba only machinery manufactured within the country; it would not re-export any machinery bought in the United States. (*The New York Times*, April 8.)

WANTED: MORE US MACHINERY

Deputy Premier Jaroszewicz told reporters at a Washington news conference, “It would be very good if we could buy yearly \$100 million in machinery here,” according to *The New York Times*, April 8. Although direct talks about additional loans had not taken place during his visit, the Deputy Premier hinted that Poland would like sizable credits annually. (Poland has received \$296 million in loans from the United States since June 1957, mainly for agricultural surplus products.) He mentioned chemical, metallurgical, food-processing and shipbuilding machinery, as well as machine tools. State Department officials were said to be doubtful as to the likelihood of such credits.

Jaroszewicz noted that settlement was expected soon of the question of indemnities to United States concerns for nationalized property in Poland. Polish exports to the United States would then get most-favored-nation tariff treatment, he said.

Denies Reduction of Soviet Exports

Jaroszewicz described reports that the Soviet Union has warned the East European countries of a cutback in raw material shipments as "not true." The talks at the Moscow Conference last February, when the warning ostensibly occurred, he said, were "not of diminishing but of increasing supplies."

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CHANGES IN CONSTITUTION PLANNED

Meeting in Prague, April 9, a plenary session of the National Assembly approved a bill which would reduce the number of deputies to the National Assembly from 368 to 300. This would be a return to the situation which prevailed in the First Republic, after the war, and under the Communist regime until 1954. Elections will be held, June 12, at which time National Committees [local bodies] will also be elected. In the 87 Slovak districts, deputies will also be chosen to the Slovak National Council. (*Rude Pravo* [Prague], April 3.)

The draft of the new Constitution will be the object of a "nationwide discussion" as was in the case in 1948 when the Communist Constitution of May 9 was being prepared. A meeting of the Party Central Committee on April 7-8 appointed an 84-member commission to draw up the final version of the Constitution. (*Rude Pravo*, April 9.)

Puppet Parties to Go?

Preparing for the election, the National Assembly adopted on April 9 an amendment defining the National Front. Under the 1954 Election Act, all four puppet parties were listed as separate components of the National Front; the new act reads: "The National Front unites under the leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia the social organizations of the working people." This may mean the end of the puppet parties in the not too distant future.

SLOVAKIA'S "LIBERATION" FETED

The fifteenth anniversary of the "liberation" of Bratislava by the Soviet Army and the proclamation of the Communist-inspired "Kosice Program" was celebrated on April 4 with lengthy speeches by Zdenek Fierlinger, chair-

WHAT HAPPENED ON LAKE FERTO

A tale of chivalry and derring-do among Hungary's frontier guards, taken verbatim from Kisalfold (Budapest), January 28. Lake Ferto is on the northwestern border of Hungary and projects like a tongue into neighboring Austria through the fence of land mines and barbed wire that closes the rest of the border.

It was still night, although dawn was near. The fog was heavy and impenetrable. To the frontier guards who were on duty it seemed incredible that anyone could be so crazy as to try to escape on such a night. It was impossible to find one's way in the fog, and the thick ice on the lake had been melting rapidly in the mild weather of recent days. But they had hardly gone past Balf when they found footprints in the snow. On looking at them they saw to their astonishment that, along with the prints of adults, there were prints of children's feet too.

They immediately alerted the frontier station at Sopron, and the action that followed was very much like that of a heroic epic. The identity of the fugitives was easily discovered: they were Antal Pinter and Laszlo Kiraly of the village of Balf, along with their families—including five small children, of whom the oldest was six and the youngest only half a year.

Grim looks crossed the faces of the frontier guards as they thought what monsters the parents must be to risk such an adventure with their children. The guards felt profound pity for the children. It was evident that they could not have got across the lake because the ice had melted in the middle, and it was impossible to walk for

miles in such icy water. If they were still alive, they must be on one of the islands of reeds. At first the guards felt that such parents did not deserve to be rescued, but they changed their minds when they thought of the unfortunate children.

All patrols were alerted, and forty soldiers started out on the dangerous venture. The ice began to break under them, and their progress was made difficult by fire (the fire had been set by workers on the nearby reed farm in order to obtain better reeds next year). It was past noon when they heard the sound of children crying, and found the fugitives on a heap of reeds, exhausted, tired and half frozen. The soldiers looked at the adults with disgust, but hugged and comforted the children, who felt reassured at once in the arms of the frontier guards.

Back in the barracks a warm room, hot tea and a doctor were waiting for them. The children were given injections and everyone hurried to dry their clothes and see whether they had caught cold. They have become the pets of the whole frontier guard unit, and of the country roundabout.

And what of the parents? Why did they want to go? Why did they take such a risk with their children? Were they in need?

Antal Pinter earned about 2,000 forint a month, and also had a garden plot of one-third of an acre.

Laszlo Kiraly earned even more.

Apparently they thought that in the West the roads were paved with gold and dollars. They will have to answer for their deeds: not only for their crime against the State but also for their sin against their children.

man of the National Assembly, and Deputy Premier Vaclav Kopecky. Speaking of the "Kosice Program," Fierlinger declared that "the guiding idea behind this first Czechoslovak government proclamation was loyalty to the Soviet Union and our unbreakable will to rely in the defense of our liberated fatherland on the combat-tempered Soviet Army." After praising economic and social achievements in Slovakia in the past fifteen years, he went on to stress the importance of the "democratic centralism" which would continue "to guide and control industrial and agri-

cultural production," thus insuring "the successful fulfillment of the State economic plan." (Radio Prague, April 4.)

Kopecky spoke in a similar vein at the unveiling of a liberation monument in Bratislava, honoring the "eternal memory of the Soviet heroes who sacrificed their lives." (*Pravda* [Bratislava], April 5.)

TERRITORIAL REFORM CONT'D

Party conferences were held March 19-20 and March 26-27 in the centers of the new districts and regions. (See *East Europe*, March, p. 41.) High-ranking Party officials attended the meetings and reiterated in their official pronouncements that agricultural problems required the closest attention by Party members. Newly-elected regional committees were urged to implement dictates of the Party, thus strengthening the role of the Party in administering the State, and to demand "the consistent fulfillment of all political and economic tasks." (*Rude Pravo* [Prague], March 21, 28.)

STRANGE DEATH OF PARTY COLLABORATIONIST

Dr. Emanuel Slechta, chairman of the Communist-backed "Czechoslovak Socialist Party," died on March 17. *Svobodne Slovo* (Prague), March 19, his Party's organ, was chary of praise, merely listing his position as chairman of a political party, cabinet minister, member of the Presidium of the National Front, etc. A year ago, his wife was purged as head of the "Socialist Party" publishing house Ceske Slovo-Melantrich and removed from a leading position in the Czechoslovak Women's Committee. Western sources have reported that the couple committed suicide.

BISHOP TRIED

Ladislav Hlad, a Roman Catholic apostolic administrator, has been sentenced to nine years imprisonment. He was accused of having been secretly made a Bishop by the Vatican in 1950; since that time he had been quietly ordaining theological students, it was said. By Czechoslovak law, the State must approve all ecclesiastical appointments; a loyalty oath is also required. (*Svobodne Slovo* [Prague], March 15.)

HUNGARY

"LIBERATION" CELEBRATED

The fifteenth anniversary of the "liberation" of Hungary by the Soviet Union was commemorated on April 4 with a flood of speeches lauding the Red Army, the "great and unselfish aid" given Hungary in the waning months of World War II by the USSR, and the achievements of "Socialism." Party boss Janos Kadar set the tone of the celebration in his address to the Party faithful in Budapest, April 3:

"This day has become and will remain our greatest na-

THEY TALK TOUGH DOWN IN BRNO

An editor of a provincial newspaper in Czechoslovakia waxes indignant over the bad manners of a "kulak":

He got very annoyed by the comrades from the district committee in Bystrica who sent him a decree regarding production and delivery of agricultural produce in 1960.

Very annoying indeed, this latest piece of injustice. No, he wouldn't leave it at this. So he sat down and wrote a complaint to the president's office. Anyone and anything, even a stone, would have been moved by the sad contents of his letter. And hark -- what happened? The complaint was rejected. What's more, someone in the production and supply section of the regional national committee in Brno told old Roessler straight to his face that he was a kulak. This was too much for him. He sat down again and wrote another letter, this time to the regional committee in Brno. He wanted to know the reasons why he was called by one of the committee's officials a "kulak" -- and if they could not satisfy him he would take the matter higher, to the International Red Cross in Geneva.

Now they know where they stand!

Kulak Jaroslav Roessler, who exploited others all his life, who was a member of the local council of the agrarian party, a former owner of a sawmill, a grain mill and a farm, now an old-age pensioner receiving 270 koruny monthly -- instead of being happy with things as they are, protests against injustice. He promises to go to the International Red Cross in Geneva, or directly to the United Nations.

Dear old man Roessler, whom do you want to intimidate? Even today you are hampering Socialization in your village by helping the small peasants in their field work in return for their labor on your own fields.

This is how matters stand, old man Roessler. Your cheekiness is incurable, it is a real kulak arrogance. . . . You will have to accustom yourself to your fate; in our country there is no God that could help you, you know that perfectly well. And what about writing to the Pope in Rome if you do not obtain satisfaction from the Red Cross or the UN? It would surely be worth the trouble!

Rovnost (Brno), February 16.

tional holiday as long as there is a Hungarian on this earth." After praising the "glorious Red Army," he paid his respects "to the Romanian, Bulgarian and Yugoslav warriors who . . . fell on Hungarian soil for the freedom of Hungary [and] to the young Britons and Americans who, fighting the Hitler fascists, laid down their lives in Hungary." Following a brief but triumphant review of Communist accomplishments in Hungary, Kadar declared, "There is now only one kind of suppression in our country: our State suppresses the attempts of the former exploiters to bring about a restoration. There is no terror in our land. True, we have defended our regime against the enemy who launched an attack on it. But the last time there was terror in Hungary was from October 23 to November 4, 1956. That was a white terror. We defeated that terror, and since then there has been democracy again in the Hungarian People's Republic." (Radio Budapest, April 3.)

TIBOR DERY, GYULA HAY RELEASED

The liberation anniversary brought freedom for the well-known Communist writers Tibor Dery and Gyula Hay, who had played important parts in the wave of unrest that led to the 1956 Revolt. Their imprisonment, and that of other prominent personalities of the Revolt, had brought strong protests from Western intellectual circles. In response to the protests Kadar had declared, in June 1959:

"We have stated officially and unofficially . . . that nobody would be pardoned in this country as long as pressure was exerted on us from without or from hostile circles. If they want to have no amnesty in Hungary, then let them continue to exert pressure on us. When such pressure comes to an end and we consider the time ripe, there will be a certain amnesty."

Other prominent figures released were Ferenc Janosi and Ferenc Donath, who had been closely connected with Premier Imre Nagy in 1956, and the old Stalinists Mihaly and Vladimir Farkas.



A group of Slovak milkmaids who are trying for the title of "Socialist labor brigade."

VLASTA (Prague), February 4, 1960

An amnesty suspended the sentences of those who committed "crimes against the State before May 1, 1957, and whose sentences did not exceed six years." This presumably includes an unspecified number of the many freedom fighters imprisoned in the fall of 1956, who, although allowed to go free, will not be formally pardoned. On the other hand, full pardon was given to former war criminals and persons who had been sentenced for crimes against the people before December 31, 1952, and had already served more than half their terms.

The release of Dery, Donath, Janosi and some of the others was made on the basis of individual consideration by the Minister of Justice, since they had been sentenced to prison terms of more than six years.

Many Not Released

No such "individual consideration" was given to many political prisoners who had been sentenced to terms longer than the six years covered by the amnesty. These probably include such figures as: Istvan Bibó, a Minister of State in the 1956 Nagy government, who is thought to be serving a life term; Sandor Kopacsi, commander-in-chief of the Budapest police during the Revolt, sentenced to a life term in June 1958; Sandor Racz and Sandor Bali, leaders of the Budapest workers' council; Gabor Tanczos, former secretary of the Petofi Club; Gyorgy Fazekas, a journalist; Gyula Obersovszky, a journalist, sentenced to life; Sandor Gali, a journalist, sentenced to 15 years imprisonment; Pal Loecsei, a journalist, sentenced to eight years; and scores of others also sentenced to long terms in trials held in Budapest, Miskolc, Debrecen, Salgotarjan, Szolnavor, Mosonmagyaróvár and Győr.

The amnesty decree also declared that the internment camp at Toekoeel will be closed by June 30, but did not state what would be done with the inmates.

FACTORY POLICE NEEDED

Plagued by "the plunderers of people's property," the Hungarian government has decided to set up a network of factory police in every enterprise throughout the country. Besides protecting State property, the new guards will help maintain work discipline. (*Magyar Kozlony* [Budapest], March 24.)

HUNGARIAN PEN CLUB REORGANIZED

At a recent meeting of its general assembly, the Hungarian PEN Club (primarily composed of writers and editors) elected a new board of directors which included writers Aron Tamasi and Laszlo Nemeth, who have refused open support of the Kadar government. (*Magyar Nemzet* [Budapest], March 25.) In July 1959, the International PEN Club readmitted the Hungarian branch after denying them membership for two years following the 1956 Uprising; at that time the Western delegates explicitly requested clemency by the regime for writers who had been imprisoned for their part in the Revolt.

COLLECTIVES STRUGGLE TO CONSOLIDATE

The practical problems of turning the new collective farms into functioning economic units and injecting a "working spirit" into the collectivized peasantry have continued to mount since the signature-gathering phase ended in February. The Party daily *Nepszabadsag* (Budapest), March 13, couched its view of these problems in the following terms:

"It is understandable that those who yesterday only regarded their individual interests and showed no concern for the worries and happiness of others do not immediately recognize that to work for the community is everyone's honorable duty. But it is not right to reckon with self-consciousness and enthusiasm alone. We have to create the conditions which ensure that those who work more for the consolidation of common farming will also be better off financially."

As a result, the primary question of income distribution among the members of collective farms has erupted in a flood of discussions. The methods under study and experiment—derived basically from Soviet experience—range from the old-style system based on calculating units of work performed by members on collectively worked land (in which quality of work counts for little) to a factory-style guaranteed wage and profit sharing system. Adherents of the latter method point out that this is the best means of slowing the efflux of young people from the collectives which is causing a growing manpower shortage in agriculture. The most widespread device, however, is to apportion land and cattle among the members on a "voluntary" basis so that their income depends directly on what they produce. Advocates of this method insist that it is not a "step back to small holdings."

The regime has also taken steps to strengthen private plots during the "transition period" in order to take up the "temporary slack in collective farming": for example, Radio Budapest announced on April 12 that special credits were being provided to encourage hog breeding on these plots. At the same time, more and more investment is being pumped into the new collectives: for instance, another half billion forint of government funds will be spent during 1960 to aid the construction of 10,000 new farm buildings (only 5,000 were erected in 1959).

Two More Collective Counties

In February, when the collectivization campaign was halted, there were said to be six collective counties. Now two more have been added: Bekes County, where 80 percent of the total land belongs to the "Socialist sector," and Baranya County on the Yugoslav border, where 81.6 percent of the total land was collectivized during last winter's campaign. (*Bekes Megyei Nepszabadsag* [Bekescsaba], March 6, and *Dunantuli Naplo* [Pecs], March 17.)

1965 AGRICULTURAL TARGETS SET

The National Planning Bureau has set forth ambitious sights for Hungarian agriculture during the coming Second Five Year Plan (1961-1965), although they are far more

HOW TO BECOME YOUR OWN BOSS

Poland has fewer collective farms than any other country in the Soviet bloc, and the Gomulka regime has stated flatly that the Polish peasants are so averse to the idea of collective farming that any effort to push them into it would be politically dangerous. A Warsaw newspaper recently paid tribute to peasant psychology with the following tale.

There was once a certain member of a collective farm. He came from another province. The members of the collective didn't know too much about him, but they accepted him since this was a time when it was proper to accept everybody, and especially because he drank little and seemed willing to work. So willing, in fact, that he would do the work of two, even on a Sunday when many of the members did not like to work. As if that weren't enough, he did many of the unpleasant chores that usually had to be assigned: one day he was cutting the grass in the ditch; another day he was mending the roof of the barn.

No wonder, then, that at the end of the year he went home with the largest share of the money and grain. The local Secretary shook his hand in front of everybody, congratulated him on earning the highest wages, and set him up as a model to everybody. It wasn't long before the District Committee took an interest in the model collective farmer and he received a shower of invitations to all kinds of public ceremonies. This might have gone on indefinitely if it hadn't been for one unfortunate incident. The model collective farmer gave an interview to a newspaper reporter.

"You were the one who made the most money last year," the reporter began.

"That's right," answered our peasant.

"You like it here at the collective farm?"

"Sure I like it. Why not?"

"And do you want to make as much money next year too?"

"That's right."

"What do you need all that money for? You have no family, and you don't spend much on yourself."

"When I save enough money I'm going to buy me some more land back in Kielce, where I come from. I'm going to build me a house, and then I won't have to work for the collective farm anymore. I'll work for myself."

Kierunki (Warsaw-Cracow), March 29

modest than those talked about in Bulgaria. Over-all production is slated to increase by 32 percent. A total of 38 billion forint will be invested in agriculture, with 20 billion of this going directly into the collective farms. By the end of the period, 62,500 tractors are to be in operation, and the quantity of chemical fertilizer used will rise to 1.46 million tons.

Meanwhile, during 1960 the output from the rural sector is scheduled to expand by 4.9 percent with the increase in

livestock outpacing vegetable production, or by 7.2 and 3.3 percent respectively. Investment will be 27 percent above the 1959 level, and more than 10,000 tractors are to be put into use, bringing the total to 40,000 by the end of this year.

STUDENTS RESIST REGIME

Hungarian students, responsible four years ago for touching off the Hungarian Revolt, have continued to resist Communist indoctrination, according to an article in the ideological review *Társadalmi Szemle* (Budapest), March issue. While claiming that the majority of students "fundamentally adhere" to the regime, the article admitted that they "do not as yet see clearly on a number of political questions and still struggle with ideological problems." Some of these shortcomings:

"The majority of university and high school students have not yet acquired the Marxist education expected of the intelligentsia in a Socialist society; as a result of this, false views have spread on important social and political questions. Part of the student body [believes] that without religion there can be no moral youth. . . . Nationalist views are being spread among university youth. The remnants of the bourgeois moral conception are strong and lasting."

This "lack of progress" was noted in spite of the fact that half of the total student body has been enrolled in the Communist Youth League.

ROMANIA

LITTLE REAL COLLECTIVIZATION

Only about 14 percent of Romania's arable land belongs to the "advanced type" of collective farm, according to information given a *New York Times* correspondent in Bucharest on March 9. The Romanian regime has refrained from giving precise information as to the success of its collectivization efforts among the private peasants. Deputy Premier Alexandru Birladeanu said in an interview that only about one-third of the "Socialist sector"—which is said to cover 72 percent of the land—is held by State farms and "advanced" collectives. Since the State farms are known to have more than 11 percent of the total arable land, this leaves only 14 percent for the "advanced" collectives. The rest of the "Socialist sector" consists of loose "agricultural associations" in which the peasants have not given up the ownership and cultivation of their land.

US FINANCIAL CLAIMS SETTLED

A financial accord with the United States settling outstanding claims arising out of old financial and trade debts, war damages, nationalization, etc. was finally signed on March 30 in Washington. (Radio Bucharest March 30.)



Ferenc Janosi, son-in-law of the late Imre Nagy, was one of those released in the Hungarian amnesty. A former Deputy Minister of Culture, he is shown here in 1953 talking with singer Hanna Honthy (left) and actress Agi Meszaros.

NOK LAPJA (Budapest), August 27, 1953

The agreement liquidates the claims of US citizens against payment of \$24.5 million; some \$22 million of this consist of Romanian assets frozen by the US Government during the war, and the remaining \$2.5 million will be paid by Romania in five annual installments.

GREEK-ROMANIAN OIL AGREEMENT

A happy note was finally sounded in Greek-Soviet bloc relations when a convention on prospecting and exploiting Greek oil resources was signed on March 12, by Bucharest and Athens, according to Radio Bucharest of the same day. The two governments will cooperate in exploiting Greek oil, and Romania will supply oil drilling equipment to Greece.

NATIONALISM ATTACKED

At two of the regional conferences held throughout the country, March 12-13, for the purpose of electing delegates to the Third Party Congress in late May or June, the people were warned not to "spread the poison of nationalism." Speaking in Cluj, the largest city of Transylvania, where only last year the regime merged the Hungarian and Romanian Universities of Cluj, Party chief Gheorghiu-Dej stated:

"We would be naive if we imagined that we have completely liquidated every vestige of nationalism. From time to time chauvinistic elements still challenge us. Such attempts must be given a clear, categorical rebuff. We must intensify the work of educating the working people in the spirit of patriotic Socialism and proletarian internationalism by cementing forever the fraternal friendship between the Romanian people and the minorities in our fatherland." He singled out "ideologically backward Romanian and Hungarian intellectuals" for holding "nationalistic theories which are anti-scientific and obscurantist in character."

Leontin Salajan, an alternate member of the Politburo, speaking at a Party conference in the Hungarian Autonomous Region, similarly cautioned the Hungarian minority "not to spread the poison of nationalism," but to work "in a spirit of Socialism, patriotism and proletarian internationalism." (*Scinteia*, March 22.)

ISRAELI DIPLOMAT EXPELLED

Eretz Jochanan, third secretary at the Israeli legation, was declared *persona non grata* and asked to leave Romania for carrying on activities "incompatible with diplomatic protocol." No other reasons were given for this action. (Radio Bucharest, April 5.)

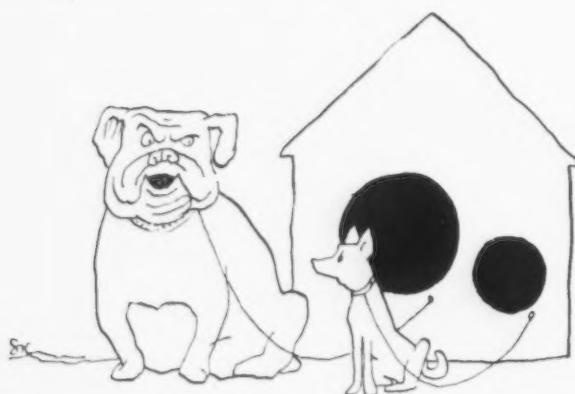
TRADE UNIONS CENTRALIZED

A decision taken two years ago "to strengthen the democratic centralism of the trade union movement" has finally been implemented. Yugoslav sources report that "the district, regional and town committees have been abolished and territorial councils elected in their place. These councils will coordinate the work of all trade union branches which they represent." A top-heavy administrative apparatus leading to bureaucratic duplication was the ostensible reason for the organizational change. (*Politika* [Belgrade], April 1.)

BULGARIA

THE MEAT PROBLEM

Bulgaria's meat shortage has led to a switch in policy toward the collective farms. Collective farm managers are now being criticized for depriving members of their private plots (which had led to an excessive slaughtering of privately-owned cattle) and for failing to provide the members with enough fodder to feed their cattle. "Abolition of the



Large dog to small dog: "Here comes a little guy. Now it's your turn to bark."

POLITYKA (Warsaw), January 16, 1960

private use of land has inflicted a most severe blow on stockbreeding," said the Party newspaper *Rabotnichesko Delo* (Sofia) on March 30. The core of its argument was that the collective farms cannot yet match the conditions and incentives found in private livestock production. Party leader Todor Zhivkov said on April 2: "At the present stage of development, it will be sufficient to strengthen the private plots of the collective farm members in accordance with the requirements laid down in the collective farm statute. Those collectives which recently took steps to assist their members by providing them with fodder for their private use... are acting properly." (Radio Sofia, April 3.)

"VOLUNTARY LABOR" DECREE RESCINDED

Decree number 261, which granted "permission" to white collar employees in government and in State and cooperative enterprises to do "voluntary manual labor" for 30 working days a year while receiving pay from their regular jobs, has been revoked, according to *Izvestia* (Sofia), March 18. This decree, issued at the inception of the "big leap forward" in December 1958, was one among many designed to throw more manpower into material production. Its abrogation marks another tacit retreat from the policies of the "big leap."

No reasons were given officially for this move. A Yugoslav daily, *Politika* (Belgrade), March 30, commented that the absence of office workers from their places of employment had disturbed the "rhythm of production plans."

IRRIGATION SYSTEM CRITICIZED

The campaign to extend Bulgaria's irrigation system last year was not an unqualified success, according to recent statements in the press. Criticisms range from lack of coordination (building dams but not canals) and a shortage of technicians to a reluctance on the part of collective farmers to take time out for the so-called "voluntary" work of digging ditches. An article in *Otechestven Front* (Sofia), March 22, stated that "although progress in this sector is undoubted, the techniques of irrigation in many areas of the country have remained the old ones."

Plans for 1960 call for irrigating another eight million decares, or three times as much as in 1959, but the emphasis has lately been placed on quality rather than quantity. On April 2 a national conference devoted to irrigation heard Party boss Todor Zhivkov state that Bulgaria occupies one of the last places among European countries in the efficiency of land utilization. He criticized poor planning, which had led to building excessively large irrigation dams based on technical efficiency rather than economic value. Another of his criticisms dealt with the improper use of the irrigation system. "Many cases have proved that it is easier to build an irrigation system than to use it," he said. (Radio Sofia, April 3.)

JOURNALISTS CONVENE

The Congress of Bulgarian Journalists, held in Sofia, March 11-13, was heavy with the old familiar speeches

CRADLE TO GRAVE

In an effort to keep Party members from succumbing to the lure of religion, the Communists have invented substitutes for the Christian ceremonies of baptism and burial. The Hungarian trade union magazine Munka printed a good atheist ceremony for each of these occasions in its January issue:

Name Day: In the hall, the Pioneers [Communist children's group] form a guard of honor. The children and their parents are seated in the first row. The table in front is covered with a red cloth and with the national flag. . . . After a number by the choir, the chairman of the District Council gives a speech of seven or eight minutes. In concluding, he states that the father and mother in question have announced that they have entered their child under such and such a name and number in the registry of the district. Then he calls upon the parents to sign the oath and gives them their certificate. An approximately eight-year-old Pioneer recites the "Cradle Song" of Attila Jozsef. As many Pioneers as there are new-born babies present each

mother with a bunch of flowers. One Pioneer greets the new-born babies on behalf of all the Pioneers. Then another number by the choir ("Cradle Song"), followed by a speech by the head of the father's office who talks on behalf of the wider family and community of the working place. This is followed by a distribution of presents and the closing number of the choir (a march with a quick rhythm).

Burial: If possible, an important functionary should deliver the funeral address. The speech should be personal, should deal with the family, with those left behind, and should affect the feelings of those present. It is not right for dry, academic speeches to be delivered at the funeral of a progressive man.

After the funeral address the procession accompanying the coffin to the tomb should line up in a certain order. On the way to the grave the choir or band should start a funeral song. At the grave, a close friend or colleague of the dead person should make a brief farewell speech and then, to the tune of a funeral march, the coffin should be lowered into the grave.

urging the delegates to hew to the Party line. A letter from the Party Central Committee to the conference set and summed up the general tone: "Our press . . . must develop still further the ideological work of the Party and intensify the Communist education of the people. . . . The press must help in the formation of a Marxist-Leninist world outlook and Communist morality among our workers, and thus create the new man." (*Rabotnichesko Delo* [Sofia], March 12.)

PUBLIC ORDER DETACHMENT FORMED

Although "criminality is decreasing in [Bulgaria] and Socialist legality is being constantly consolidated," the regime has decided to establish so-called public order detachments to struggle against "immoral and anti-social manifestations." The groups, to be made up of workers, will be organized by the trade unions, the Party and Communist youth groups; the new guardians of public order will perform their duties "in their free time." (*Rabotnichesko Delo* [Sofia], March 13.)

MORE ATTENTION TO CORN

Efforts to solve the growing shortage of livestock and meat gathered momentum on March 16 when the Ministry

of Agriculture and Forestry sponsored a nation-wide conference on measures to increase the production of corn for fodder. Shortages of fodder have been one of the main reasons for the decline of cattle breeding in Bulgaria. (See *East Europe*, March, p. 48.) The conference, which brought a number of high government officials and agricultural specialists together in Sofia, was devoted to ways of increasing yields per hectare and of expanding the area under cultivation. According to *Rabotnichesko Delo*, March 17, the conference concluded that the area sown to corn this spring must be increased by 130,000 hectares, bringing the total area to 1 million; another 300,000 hectares are to be planted later in the year for a second harvest.

The emphasis on corn as a fodder crop represents a trend in the Soviet bloc sponsored by Soviet Premier Khrushchev. In Bulgaria, it is one more in a recent series of measures to improve stockbreeding. In January the regime issued a decree ordering the Ministry of Agriculture to take steps to encourage the fattening of cattle before slaughter, and prohibiting the slaughter of cows and young bulls. More attention is also being given to the private household plots of the collective farmers (see above). The area sown to corn in 1958 was about 25 percent less than in the prewar year of 1939, and the total crop was 20 percent less.

Texts and Documents

The German Question

On May 16, the leaders of the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain and France will meet in Paris for the long-awaited summit conference. Fundamental to their discussions will be the problem of divided Germany, and the conflicting policies of the USSR and the Western powers toward their former enemy.

Recently the Central Committee of the East German Socialist Unity Party—the Communist rulers of East Germany—published a letter to all the German people assessing the history of the past fifteen years. In substance, it is an attack upon the structure and policies of the West German government. The letter implies that only under Communist leadership can Germany be reunited. Specifically, it calls upon West Germans to renounce the present foreign policies of the Adenauer government and to join with East Germany in a federation after “the conclusion of a peace treaty with both German States.” The letter was published in Neues Deutschland, the organ of the Socialist Unity Party, on March 23.

WORKERS, PEASANTS, and members of the intelligentsia. German men and women, German youth:

May 8, 1960 will be the 15th anniversary of that day on which the most terrible of all wars ended in the unconditional surrender of the Hitler army, on which the peoples of the world celebrated their salvation from fascist barbarism. The victory of the Soviet Union and its allies over German imperialism also brought freedom to our people. A new chapter of history began.

When the armies of the anti-Hitler coalition met at the Elbe River and the Soviet troops hoisted the banner of victory over Brandenburg Gate in Berlin, Germany was given the opportunity of a national rebirth as a peace-loving and democratic State.

Remember, German men and women, those days of complete destruction of the Hitler army, when the persons responsible for this national catastrophe, the Nazi leaders and war economy leaders, the miracle-weapon generals and final victory politicians, cowardly hid themselves and left hungry and distressed Germans behind in destroyed towns. Who at that time did not desire a change in German policy to a peaceful life? At that time the masses of the millions in towns and villages looked for a way out, a glimpse of light in the future of the German nation.

At that time a fact of historic importance was revealed to all Germans, no matter of what class and stratum, of

what religion or political conviction. The party of the working class, the Communist Party of Germany, on June 11, 1945, presented its appeal to the people that popularly set forth the principles of a national policy, of the liberation of our people from fascist serfdom and imperialist war policy. This appeal pointed out the way to eliminate militarism and fascism, the way to a democratic and peace-loving Germany. The Central Committee of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany on June 15, 1945, joined in this appeal. This was the final phase of a historic development during which the imperialist-militarist rulers of Germany had dragged the nation's banner into the dirt. The most progressive class of the German people picked it up and carried it into the future.

The liberation of the German people from the yoke of Hitler fascism, made possible by the destruction of the imperialist Hitler army by the glorious Soviet Army, fulfilled a prolonged struggle of the German working class against militarism and imperialism, for national freedom and social progress. We remind East and West Germans of Ernst Thaelmann's warning: "Hitler means war."

The Communist Party of Germany powerfully opposed the threatening danger of a national catastrophe and heroically resisted the imperialist destroyers of Germany. Together with numerous opposition forces within the Social-Democratic Party of Germany, it faced whatever sacrifice had to be made in the struggle

against fascism. This heroic struggle has been written with blood into the book of German history for all times. Out of the 300,000 members of the KPD, 145,000 were thrown into prisons and concentration camps or were forced to emigrate because of their active struggle. More than 30,000 functionaries of this party sacrificed their lives for Germany on the scaffold or in prisons and concentration camps or were forced to emigrate because of their active struggle. Some 27 Communist Reichstag deputies died in this struggle.

"Adenauer Cultivated Roses"

The struggle of the Communist and Social Democratic members, of numerous patriots from all strata of the people, proves that resistance against the Hitler regime in Germany never ceased.

Where did the Party find the strength for such a heroic struggle? This strength grew out of the experiences gained in the struggle of all anti-fascist forces against war and fascism. The best of the German people were inspired by the passionate longing for a new social order free of war and fascist barbarism. The vanguard of the working class was able to head this fight because of its insight into social development, its scientific foresight that the imperialist rulers had long ago lost their claim to guide the nation and that they were only capable of leading the German people into the catastrophe of a war; that the working class, however, is the social power around which all strata of the people rally, and which must fight for the freedom of the nation. During this time many Social Democratic leaders realized that a new policy for the unification of all Hitler adversaries had become necessary.

When the bourgeois politicians came to terms with Hitler, when people like Adenauer cultivated roses and received enormous annuities from Hitler, when careerists like Strauss and Schroeder strove for state positions, there were revolutionary worker leaders like Wilhelm Pieck and Walter Ulbricht who organized the broad front of the people's masses for resistance. When German monopoly capital prepared for war, and Hitler stirred hatred against other peoples, races, and nations, at that time in 1935 the Communist Party of Germany at its Brussels Conference presented a manifesto to the German people and declared:

"Let us not hesitate any longer! Let us jointly carry the great slogans of anti-fascist struggle through the country, against Hitler's war policy, which leads the German people into catastrophe!"

"For the preservation of peace!

"For the reestablishment of democratic freedom!"

This manifesto proved the national responsibility of the German working class. It is excellent proof that the conscience of our German nation was awake in the hearts and brains of the best of the German working class. The leadership of the German working class appealed to all circles and strata of the German people to avert the threat from the German nation and to prevent anti-national militarists from losing German territory, German men, and German efficiency in an insane war.

The proletarian vanguard of the German people knew very well that a war of German militarists against other nations had to end in a complete defeat and in terrible suffering and losses of goods and blood for the German people. The total defeat of German imperialism was inevitable and natural because it conjured up the most unjust of all unjust wars, because it threatened whole peoples with destruction and physical eradication, and for this reason had to unchain the heroic resistance of the peoples' masses in all countries. Above all the total defeat of German imperialism was certain, because it strove to destroy that country which had become the hope of mankind and which had first embarked on the road to Socialism.

The vanguard of the German working class had known German imperialism from decades of class struggle, it had known the conceited presumptuousness of that militarist spirit, which in incredible ignorance of the international ratio of power and the natural development of history of mankind had always aimed at the unrealistic goal of acquiring world domination. Its world domination plans were in sharp contrast to its political-moral, economic, and military possibilities. Everybody must realize today how right the German Communists were, how precisely their scientific foresight came true.

At its Party conference in Bern in 1939, on the eve of the insane war, the Communist Party of Germany called for the unification of all patriotic forces in Germany to avert the catastrophe at the last minute. There at this conference it submitted to the German people principles for a unified, democratic German State, which was to replace the imperialist-fascist State of violence.

The chauvinist boasting of the militarists, who deceived the people by promising them a greater German Reich and a leading position in the world, who

depicted a German peace State as a weak and internationally humiliated construction, were told by the Communist Party of Germany:

"The new Democratic Republic will not be a 'weak Germany,' a 'Germany of chaos,' as Nazi propaganda is trying to convince the masses. The liberated Germany, relying on unity and freedom of its people and strength of its people's army, in alliance with the Soviet Union and with the peoples of France, Great Britain, America, and with all peace and freedom-loving forces in the world, will be a strong and generally respected Germany, which will gain honor for the German nation in the world."

"The Best of the German People"

Under this unambiguous leadership of the working class, heroic resistance groups sprang up throughout the country despite the most terrible terror. Communists and Social Democrats united with patriotic citizens and patriotic and religious people in these resistance groups. Unforgettable heroes sprang up in Germany from all circles of the people during this struggle. The name of Ernst Thaelmann was linked with the names of Rudolf Breitscheid, Theo Neubauer, Hans and Sophie Scholl, and Count von Stauffenberg. Peace and the nation were sacred to all of them.

Besides the resistance groups in Germany, German antifascists fought in the ranks of the international brigades in Spain, later among the partisan units of Soviet, French, Polish, Yugoslav, and Czechoslovak freedom fighters. In the fascist army itself resistance groups developed and German prisoners of war realized the fatal role of the antinational, imperialist German war policy. In resisting the war policy of German militarism, a broad front of patriotic Germans thus developed to save the German people from the catastrophe of war and to maintain peace for the German nation. The national front of peace rose against the antinational policy of militarism.

Again the best of the German people headed by Wilhelm Pieck and Walter Ulbricht out of national responsibility created a center for this heroic resistance fight of all German patriots by founding the "Free Germany National Committee." German worker leaders and former army generals, Catholics and Protestants, sons of workers and peasants of our people united in joint action because they were concerned about the fate of the German nation.

The "Free Germany National Committee" developed in Germany and made the

unification of the different illegal groups possible. The political discussions and the organizational cooperation of the illegal organizations of Communists, Social Democrats, and bourgeois patriots created the core of a centrally operative guidance of the resistance fight in Germany.

The "Free Germany National Committee" formulated the principles of a Germany policy to replace the insane striving for power of German imperialism. In its program, the "Free Germany National Committee" outlined that course of policy which was decisive for the founding of the GDR as the only legal State because it is peace loving:

"Complete elimination of all laws based on hatred of peoples and races, of all institutions of the Hitler regime that dishonor our people, cancellation of all repressive laws of the Hitler time that discredit human dignity."

"For people and fatherland!" "Against Hitler and his war!" "For immediate peace!" "For the salvation of the German people!" "For a free, independent Germany!"

Every German can see from this program how during that time when the fascist army was being destroyed by the Soviet Army and the armies of the anti-Hitler coalition, the National Front of a democratic Germany under the leadership of the working class developed under combat fire. Hundreds of thousands of true heroes of our people sacrificed their blood for Germany. Their fight against the Hitler regime was combined with the fight of the heroes of the Soviet Army, the fight of the soldiers and resistance fighters of all nations that rose up against the barbarism of German militarism.

"Selfless Aid of the USSR"

This struggle developed particularly the fraternal friendship between democratic Germany and the Socialist Soviet Union which, according to its Socialist principles, gave its selfless aid to all German patriots and opened the road to liberation with its powerful, military blows against German militarism. This fraternal aid fully corresponded with the character of the first Socialist State of the world which knows no revanchist feelings against other peoples and nations, which in the struggle for its own independence simultaneously supports the struggle of other peoples for national self-determination, freedom, and democracy.

In accordance with this Socialist character of the Soviet Union, its victory over German imperialism led to a historic

change in the national liberation fight of the peoples, among them the German people.

In the relations with other peoples this Socialist policy aided the German people in the general chaos of fascist defeat to create conditions under which the democratic forces in urban and rural areas could begin to build a new life. May the heroic deeds of the Soviet people be unforgettable, may the friendship between the German and Soviet people be unshakable.

Citizens in East and West, today everybody can see the successful road upon which the peace-loving and democratic forces have embarked since 1945 in the east of Germany in building a new life. What was the foundation of these successes? The victory of the people's masses over the destroyers of the nation was possible because the working class had learned the right lesson from the history of the German people. The establishment of an action unity in the spring of 1945 and the founding of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany under the chairmanship of Comrades Wilhelm Pieck and Otto Grotewohl in the spring of 1946 were the greatest achievements in the history of the German workers' movement. Thus the working class could fulfill its historic mission of liberating the nation from imperialist domination and of eradicating militarism.

The unity of the working class became the foundation of the unity of the people as revealed by the bloc of antifascist-democratic parties and by the National Front of democratic Germany. The dreams and sacrifices of decades of struggle were fulfilled.

On the 15th anniversary of liberation we look at the historic deed of the German working class and State: Until 1945, the German people had been governed by exploiters and destroyers. However in May 1945, the new era began for the German people in one part of Germany who are taking their fate into their own hands. Until then a policy was conducted in opposition to German interests that ended in the national catastrophe of two world wars. Since May 1945, one German State has been conducting a national policy.

"Nazis and Jew-Murderers"

Citizens in East and West on the 15th anniversary of the liberation of the German people from the Hitlerite yoke, we remind you of this historic fact. While the German patriots in the East of our fatherland accomplished their mission for the German people and built a State of

peace, the losers of 1945, the beaten militarists, attempted to turn back on West German soil the wheel of history. For the third time within a single generation, they want to correct the results of their lost wars by means of a new war. In the East of Germany, new social conditions, new people, and lofty ideas of peace and friendship among peoples grew with the new State. In West Germany, the old corruptors were brought out of their hiding places and were released from the prisons of the Western powers to take over the management of this anti-people, anti-national State. With this anti-German and peace-opposing policy, the governments of the Western powers have assumed a great responsibility to mankind. Many politicians of the imperialist countries already feel burdened by this anti-German policy, since the monopoly lords and Hitlerite generals, the old Nazis and Jew-murderers are arrogantly boasting again and crying for "Lebensraum." The West European peoples feel the atomic rockets directed against them, the rockets placed at the disposal of German militarists by the West European governments. The people are asking themselves: Where is that Germany which wants to live in peace with us, which is looking for peaceful trade and friendship? The gloomier the reaction of the imperialist, militarist Bonn State appears, the brighter the new Germany of peace and Socialism shines from the GDR. The inevitability of this social development cannot be evaded: a peaceful policy must be pursued in all of Germany!

The united working class in the East of Germany has been pursuing—as everyone can see—a policy of peace in the interest of the German nation since the days of liberation. For this reason, it has found approval and support from all strata of people who have created a powerful movement with the National Front of democratic Germany.

The whole world may see whether any measure of action of the National Front of democratic Germany, under the leadership of the united working class, has been directed against peace, against the nation, or other peoples. True to the principles developed during the struggle against Hitlerite fascism, the mission of the new, peace-loving Germany was accomplished in the East of Germany. A national action of peace was accomplished by punishing the war criminals and by placing their property in the hands of the people.

A national action of peace was accomplished by expropriating the Junker troublemakers of the nation and by giving

their land to the peasants. A national action of peace was accomplished by removing all hotbeds of militarist spirit and racist barbarity from the education centers through the school reform. The national action of peace of the united working class in alliance with the working peasants, the urban citizens, and the intelligentsia was the foundation of the national State of peace, the GDR.

The entire policy of the GDR and all its actions have been, and are being, pursued for the benefit of the German nation. Our German people, who have made considerable contributions to the history of mankind by their industry and their humanist achievements, deserve peace and a happy future. The awareness of these national achievements imbued the resistance fighters against Hitler in the same way as it now imbues the policy of the GDR.

Citizens of the GDR, your struggle against militarism and war, for peace and democracy, was the basis for the first German worker-peasant State and the starting point of the road via the anti-fascist-democratic order to the building of Socialism. Today, millions of workers, peasants, members of the intelligentsia, artisans, and tradespeople daily accomplish great deeds for the fulfillment of the Seven Year Plan, for the victory of Socialism.

"Socialism Means Peace"

The victory of Socialism will profoundly influence the strengthening of peace and the solution of the national question in Germany. Socialism means peace! The striving for Socialism by the best of our people has always been tantamount to the struggle to safeguard peace in Germany. Through the building of Socialism, you offer all German people the historic proof that life in peace, prosperity, and happiness is created by the renunciation of revanchist agitation and aggressive policy, of militarists and monopolies. The victory of Socialism in the GDR is of national importance because the peace-loving and democratic German forces are strengthened and will overtake the aggressive, militarist forces in West Germany. The victory of Socialism in the GDR is a prerequisite for safeguarding peace in Germany.

Workers, engineers, technicians, perform new heroic deeds of Socialist work!

Working peasants, embark more boldly on the road of Socialist transformation in agriculture for your own and all people's benefit!

Artisans and tradesmen, prosperity and

peace of the nation calls you to Socialism, to the happy future of the people!

Scientists, artists, intellectuals, Socialism offers you free creative work for the benefit of society, for the flourishing of science and German national culture!

Socialism means lasting peace! Forward to the victory of Socialism in the GDR!

Citizens in East and West, today, 15 years after the second defeat of Germany in a world war, the proposal of the Soviet Union for general and complete disarmament has found great approval among the German people. Every peace-loving citizen knows that the road of disarmament, first of all the suspension of atomic armament in West Germany and the taming of German militarism, is the only way to German reunification. The fundamental contradiction between the interests of the German people, the German nation, and the policy of the imperialist rulers in West Germany has not yet been solved: the existence of two German States is the expression of this fundamental contradiction. On one side, there is the militarist-clerical West German State where the ruling circles are pursuing the old antinational policy of revenge, militarism, and war; on the other side there is the GDR representing the interests of all German people as a bastion of peace.

The policy of the Bonn government is based on the dead past which brought immense suffering upon our people. This fact is the more absurd as the new power ratio in the world offers not the slightest chance to such a policy of the dead past but favors the forces of peace and Socialism. The attempt to repeat the policy which has failed before in this time of growing understanding among people, of independence of nations, and of their right to self-determination, is a crime against our nation. Those who again make armament and war preparations the basis of the entire domestic and foreign policy, as the Bonn government does, who think only in terms of atomic rockets, military bases, and emergency regulations against the people, as the Bonn government does, lack a national understanding.

Those who again utilize the national discontent of broad strata of the West German people for chauvinist agitation, race hatred, and hostility against other peoples 15 years after the liberation from Hitlerite fascism, in the same way as during Hitler's time, have completely lost any national feeling and fail to assess the situation realistically.

We say: Time presses for a policy of peace in West Germany too. Our Ger-

man people are particularly interested in general and complete disarmament.

The era of the nation's oppression is over, the abuse of the people's work and creative forces for war and destruction must be stopped. The liberation of the German people from the policy of imperialist aggression is on the agenda of history. The solution in line with the historic development is the taming of German militarism and the renunciation of a policy of revenge and of a solution of the German question through force by the Bonn government. The road to this goal is the conclusion of a peace treaty with both German States.

"Confederation Is the Only Way"

Peace requires a rapprochement and an understanding between the two German States. Confederation is the only means to this end. A peace treaty and a confederation are in the national interest of our people because they enable the peace-loving and democratic forces of all of Germany to take the fate of the nation firmly in their own hands. The true Germany is where the proposals of N. S. Khrushchev, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, for general and complete disarmament meet with approval.

Citizens in West Germany, the military course of the Bonn government does not only bring you new daily financial burdens, not only curtailed democratic rights and the building up of an administrative apparatus alienated from the people and permeated with Nazis, blood judges, and murderers of Jews; the military course of the Bonn government will cause a catastrophe worse than the disaster of the last war. In patriotic responsibility we appeal to all peace-loving Germans to follow together with us the road of understanding.

We appeal to all Social-Democrats and labor unionists: Think of Rudolf Breitscheid, think of your past sufferings; attack Adenauer, Strauss, and Schroeder. Ally yourselves with the working people of the GDR for the struggle for the preservation of peace!

We appeal to the rural population and the peasants: Reject the confiscation of land for the establishment of atom bases and rocket sites, reject inflation and excessive taxation, which finance atomic armament and threaten your lives.

We appeal to the middle class: Do not let yourselves be deceived by business depending on a boom and by anti-Communism. The boom in the armament industry, the propaganda of hatred against

peace, can only be followed by national catastrophe and the destruction of your existence. Peaceful economic and trade relations between the two German States correspond to the interests of the entire nation.

We appeal to the members of the intelligentsia: Save the German national culture from further destruction by the militarists, protect the humanist traditions of the German past against destruction from atomic fire.

We appeal to all peace-loving citizens in West Germany: On behalf of the German nation we offer you our hand for understanding, we appeal to you to make a national compromise, a compromise of the forces of peace against the forces of militarism and fascism.

Germany needs peace! Let us use the opportunity which the summit conference offers the German people!

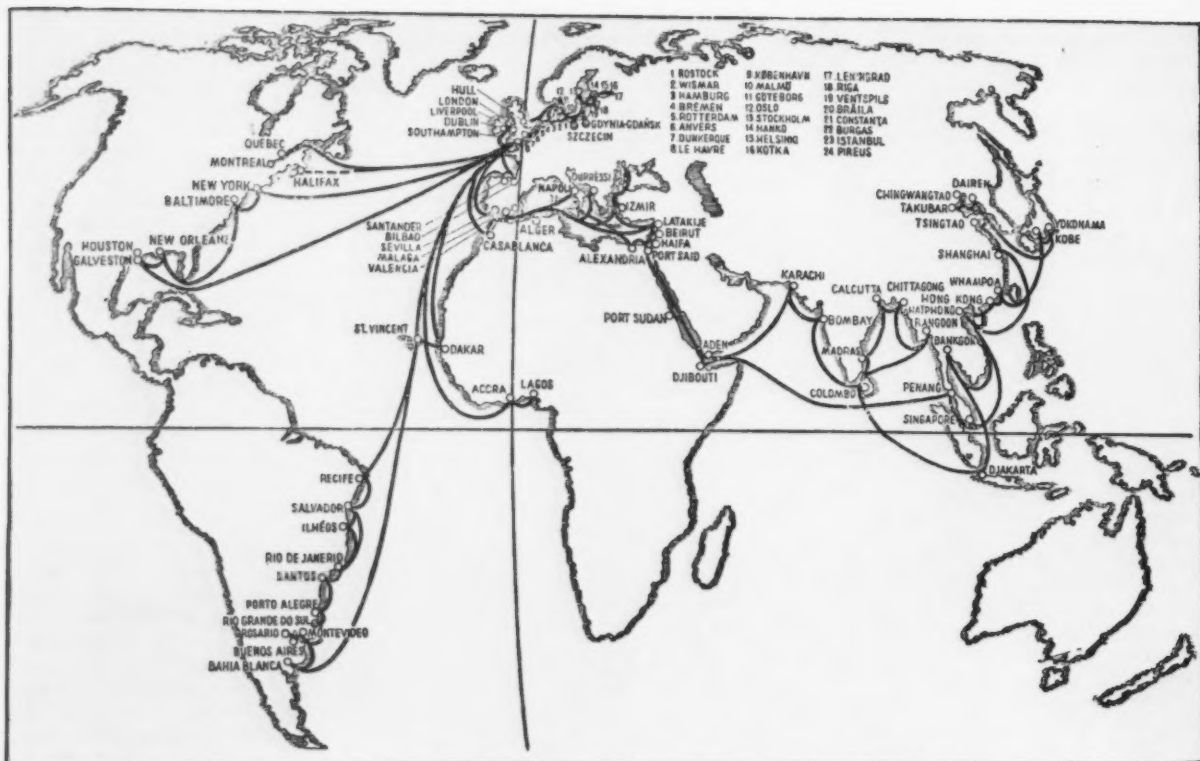
Grant the German people in the two German states the right of free-self-determination through a referendum regarding the decisive and overriding question: an atomic armament race or a disarmament policy. [Emphasis in the original.] Then the voice of the German people will become law for two German governments!

We do not demand any renunciation of ideological freedom or of the political aims of the parties and organizations. Our proposals concentrate on the national interests of the German people which every party and every organization that wants to act and think in a German way can accept. For this reason we strive for an understanding between the two German governments to renounce atomic armament; to renounce rocket bases; to agree on an armament stop; for a non-aggression pact between the two German States, and for the peaceful solution of the German question!

Citizens in East and West. We thank the Soviet people who had the major share in smashing fascism. We thank the resistance fighters in all countries, the soldiers and officers who fought in the anti-Hitler coalition and who thereby saved the world from becoming a fascist concentration camp.

On the 15th anniversary of the liberation of the German people from the fascist yoke we thank all who struggled for Germany's freedom, we think of those who lost their lives in this struggle, and appeal to all people to fulfill their legacy. The historical truth and the future of the German nation is on the side of peace and freedom.

SED Central Committee, Walter Ulbricht, first secretary; Berlin, Mar. 22, 1960.



The map shows regular runs of the Polish merchant fleet and its ports of call. The busiest routes are in the Baltic Sea.

Zachodnia Agencja Prasowa, STUDIA I ROZPRAWY, ZESZYT III, (Poznan), November 1959

(Continued from page 5)

1965, the article said, 17 ocean-going tramps of 12,500 D.W.T. each will be added to the fleet along with 8 middle-range tramps of 3,200 D.W.T. and 10 short-range tramps of 950 D.W.T.

The Struggle to Grow

When the Communists came to power after the war, they assigned heavy tasks to the shipbuilding industry. But almost as fast as the new vessels slid down the ways, they sailed off to swell the fleet of the Soviet Union. In consequence, Poland's fleet grew very slowly. A specialized shipping journal, *Morze* (Warsaw), January, 1958, noted that by 1956 "the Polish merchant fleet was in a critical state." The actual increase of tonnage to the fleet during the period of the Six Year Plan amounted to only 24 percent of the planned goal. Many of the ships were old and obsolete, the article said: 37 percent of the total tonnage was more than 20 years old; only 20 percent was less than 10 years old; and most of the vessels were coal burners.

Following the 1956 "October Days" which brought Gomułka to power, matters improved somewhat (see table). By 1958, the age structure of the fleet compared favorably with that of fleets in the rest of the world. This recent growth, however, has not come entirely from Poland's

TO THE HINTERLAND

Poland's undeveloped waterways are full of potential commerce. For many years plans have existed for a canal joining the Oder and Danube rivers, which would bring boats all the way from the Balkans to the Baltic and make Szczecin a rival of Hamburg. Now interest has been revived under the aegis of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. Czechoslovakia and Hungary are interested because it offers a shorter and cheaper means of transporting their northern maritime trade to the sea.

Poland's inland navigation has also been seriously neglected; it accounts for less than two percent of all ton-kilometers of freight transported within the country. Equipment is outdated: on the Vistula, the eastern trunk of the inland system serving Gdansk and Gdynia, 78 percent of the tugs are over 25 years old; and on the Oder, the western route to Szczecin, this figure is 56 percent. Projects are now underway to raise the proportion of freight carried on inland waterways to 7.5 percent of the total by 1975—a goal that is more ambitious than the figures suggest. (*Budownictwo Okrętowe* [Warsaw], November, 1958.)

own shipyards. Seven vessels have been purchased abroad, including one general cargo ship from Denmark and three tankers from Yugoslavia. Five more are on order in foreign shipyards, including one 20,250 D.W.T. tanker and 4 general cargo ships.

Expansion and modernization are to be pushed with even greater zeal in the future. During 1960, the PLO is slated to receive twelve new ships: two will be added to the newly established Persian Gulf line; four vessels of 10,000 D.W.T. each are to be put into service on the Far East Line; and three new motor ships will be put in operation on the South American Line. (*Western Press Agency* [Poznan], March, 1960.) By 1965 the size of the fleet is to be doubled.

Even if these plans are realized, Poland's merchant marine will continue to be far short of the country's requirements. The proportion of ocean cargo carried in Polish bottoms will rise from 20 percent in 1958 to only 40 percent in 1965. Poland will continue to rely on the London charter market and the fleets of other nations for the rest of its shipping. (*Horyzonty Techniki* [Warsaw], No. 6, 1959.)

SHIPBUILDING—AN EXPORT INDUSTRY

POLAND RANKS TWELFTH among the shipbuilding nations of the world, but more than 60 percent of the vessels it builds are sold to other countries—chiefly the USSR. Between the end of the war and last fall, Poland produced 462 ships, of which more than 250 were delivered to the Soviets. Moscow has ordered 120 vessels totalling 830,000 D. W. T. for delivery between 1961 and 1965, representing 45 percent of Poland's total construction.

The shipbuilding industry has other clients abroad. Small sales are made to West European countries—e.g., fishing trawlers to France. But most of the ships exported outside of the Soviet bloc go to underdeveloped countries such as Brazil, the United Arab Republic and Indonesia. It is not clear whether the Poles seek this business because they want it or whether it is their part of Moscow's drive to expand commercial relations with the less developed countries.

Production and Plans

Shipbuilding is concentrated in four shipyards: two in Gdansk and one each in Gdynia and Szczecin. Gdansk, which was a German shipbuilding center before the war, is by far the largest; it is expected to account for nearly two-thirds of Polish construction in coming years. The capacity of all Polish yards is now said to be 200,000 D. W. T., and it is expected to reach 450,000 by 1965.

One of the greatest successes of the Polish shipbuilders has been the mass production of vessels from prefabricated sections, using the same techniques that produced the American "Liberty" ships during the war. They have not been as successful in fitting out their ships with motors and equipment. A writer for the technical journal *Przegląd Mechaniczny* (Warsaw), May 1958, criticized the "poorly developed machinery industry" because it "did not favor the fitting of our vessels with modern engines and machinery. . . . This interfered with the prompt deliveries of our ships, extended the production cycle, and created other production problems." During 1959, more than \$28 mil-



Vessels under construction at the State Shipyard in Gdansk.

NASZA OJCZYZNA (Warsaw), March 1960

lion was to have been spent on imported shipbuilding equipment and machinery, the writer said, almost half of which was to consist of ship motors. Steps have been taken to bridge this gap. The Gdansk shipyards have contracted with firms in Denmark—a traditional supplier of ship motors to Poland—for several blueprints of motors which

PRODUCTION AND EXPORT OF SHIPS

	<u>Total D.W.T.</u>	<u>Ships</u>	<u>Percentage Exported</u>
1952	42,610	36	84.5
1953	65,960	52	84.5
1954	77,810	44	77.5
1955	103,660	65	91.8
1956	119,770	59	84.9
1957	147,000	59	62.5
1958	174,000	62	84.8
1959	187,000	52	69.0
1960 (Plan)	271,900	72	63.0
1961-1965			
(Plan) . .	1,840,000	286	65.3

Sources: POLISH FOREIGN TRADE (Warsaw), No. 2, 1959, p. 18; ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE (Warsaw), January 17 and 31, 1960; DOKUMENTACJA PRASOWA (Warsaw), March 15-22, 1960.

will soon go into production. The Cegielski Works and "Zgoda" Foundry in Poznan recently started producing large ship engines patented by the Swiss "Sulzer" firm. (*Horyzonty Techniki* [Warsaw], June 1959.) Meanwhile, only 20 percent of the ship motors needed by the industry during 1960 will be produced in Poland. (*Trybuna Ludu* [Warsaw], September 29, 1959.)

PORTS OF CALL

SHIPS FLYING THE FLAGS of 31 nations called at Gdynia, Gdansk and Szczecin in 1957. The total net tonnage entering those harbors in that year was 6,797,674—or about the same as the tonnage that entered the port of New York last March. The total included 7,960 ships: 1,260 Polish, 1,156 Danish, 755 Swedish, and lesser numbers of Finnish, Soviet, Dutch, Norwegian, French, and British vessels. (*Polish Foreign Trade* [Warsaw], No. 2, 1958.)

Gdynia, the artificial harbor built during the inter-war period, is the most modern of the Polish ports. It has the greatest operating depth and is linked with the interior of the country by the largest railway junction. It is the main base for the regular shipping lines, specializing in the handling of general packaged cargo. Gdansk, designed to permit vessels up to 20,000 tons, is served mostly by tramp ships, and concentrates on bulk cargo. Special attention is being given to the port of Szczecin, which can handle ships up to 13,000 tons, because of its location relative to East Germany, Czechoslovakia and Hungary—all of which ship large quantities of goods through Polish ports. Approximately 70 percent of this transit cargo is now being channelled through Szczecin.

Poland's war-scathed docks and freighting facilities were restored after the war on the assumption that foreign trade would develop along its pre-war lines—i.e., an extended maritime trade with Western Europe in which the main items transported would be bulky goods such as grain, coal, etc. But the assumption soon proved to be an error. Communist domination turned trade eastward to the Soviet Union, and the development of heavy industry changed the composition of goods entering maritime trade. The ports stagnated. At the same time, the growing trade with China and other underdeveloped countries emphasized machinery and manufactured goods, which Polish ports were ill-equipped to handle. The changes have required painful adjustments.

More recently, a number of other problems have emerged. The West European Common Market's removal of political and customs barriers is making West European ports more competitive. The Scandinavian countries are sending more of their traffic through East Germany. And finally, the embargoes on shipments from the West to Communist China—which resulted in a considerable part of the China trade being handled by Polish ports—are gradually being lifted.

The seaport authorities are increasingly turning their attention toward Poland's East European neighbors in an effort to expand the business of the ports. In 1960, Polish ports are expected to handle 50 percent of Czechoslovakia's overseas trade, or 75 percent more than in 1959, according to *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), March 15. (The fleet will carry 20 percent of that trade.) Hungary's transit trade through Polish ports is scheduled to increase 50 percent over the 1959 level.

(*"Nauticus"* is the pseudonym of a Western writer on maritime subjects.)

Shrinkage in Poland's Press

POLAND PUBLISHES 609 newspapers and periodicals, with a total circulation of about 20 million. (*Trybuna Ludu* [Warsaw], January 29.) There are 50 daily newspapers, 115 weeklies, 47 biweeklies, 228 monthlies—many of them scientific publications—and 169 of less frequent issue. The total is about 30 percent smaller than in 1957 when, according to official statistics, there were 878 newspapers and periodicals. The biggest drop has been in the number of biweeklies (down 50 percent) and monthlies (down 30 percent). Total circulation, however, has only declined by a million.

The shrinkage is due in part to mergers and in part to what the Gomulka regime calls "reasons of economy." It also reflects the change in political atmosphere since 1957, when the many new publications that sprang up after the "Polish October" were still going strong. Since then, the Gomulka regime has liquidated many periodicals which showed heretical tendencies.

Book Review

The Road From Paradise

NEXT STOP—PARADISE, by Marek Hlasko, New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1960, 250 pp., \$3.95.

DAN WAKEFIELD

BECAUSE MAREK HLASKO smashed up a car and couldn't get another job driving in the city, he took to the woods where "no one asked any questions" and drove a battered lumber truck on rutted, hairpin roads more suited to the sur-footed travel of donkeys. Out of that experience he wrote his new novel, *Next Stop—Paradise*. It is a fierce and bitterly eloquent extension of the personal and literary journey that has led Hlasko far from the Communist world of his native Poland—a Poland that praised his first stories but soon found his work too painfully realistic to fit into the canon of "Socialist realism."

After his first book of stories won wide acclaim in the Polish press, Hlasko wrote a short novel, *The Graveyard*, that first saw print in a Paris monthly after being turned down by publishers in Poland. When Polish critics attacked *The Graveyard* after its foreign publication, Hlasko went to Paris in 1958 and refused to return home when his visa ran out. He has since traveled through France and Germany and is now living in Israel.

In *The Graveyard*, Hlasko stated the bitter central theme that was implicit in his first novel, *The Eighth Day of the Week*, and is carried on in

Next Stop—Paradise. It is disillusionment of the Communist convert who finds that his God has failed. In the words of Hlasko's shattered Party member in *The Graveyard*, "We wanted to take the road to life and we have come to a graveyard. We set out for a promised land and all we see is a desert. We talked about justice and all we know is terror and despair."

The Death of Faith

In *Next Stop—Paradise* it is the Communist Party member Zabawa, sent to a remote lumber camp in the Carpathians, who makes the nightmare journey to the graveyard of disbelief—the other characters are already there. The handful of men, the drivers of the far-out camp with its broken-down trucks and suicide roads, are there not because of any kind of belief or dedication but because they have no place else to go. Alcohol, murder, and reckless driving have barred them from jobs in the city, and this outpost where "no one asked any questions" of the willing workers—except that they work—is the last stop for each of them along their own personal roads to the paradise of death. They pretend to illusions of someday going back to the city (any city will do) but these dreams are made of the same stuff as the dreams of O'Neill's barflies in *The Iceman Cometh*—they serve as themes of conversational variety in the nightmare

of reality. All that these men have to lose is their life; Zabawa, the dedicated Communist, has his faith to lose as well.

When Zabawa arrives on the scene with his young French wife and his orders from the Party to step up the delivery of lumber, he is ready to sacrifice everything for the completion of his job, including his wife. When he sneaks out to take apart the motors of the trucks so that the men can't leave, as they have threatened, his wife pleads with him to take her back to the city, to leave this hopeless assignment, and asks: "Are logs more important than me?" Zabawa answers: "To do one's duty is important."

One of the veteran drivers, Warszawiak, at first wants to kill the blindly dedicated Zabawa; but he decides, instead, that he would rather kill the faith in him. And he does, merely by helping him keep the operation going as the men die around him in their patched-up equipment. In the end, Warszawiak can, with confidence of the answer, ask the once-militant Zabawa:

"Do you still believe in those things you said when you came?"

Zabawa stood beside him; both looked down into the valley. "No," he said after a moment.

"Do you still believe in the things you did when you came?"

"No."

Zabawa was silent; the mists rose higher and higher, disclosing the earth

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cutted by wheels. "I have no faith—in faith," he said at last.

"That's what I've been waiting for," Wawrzeciak said, smiling. "I wanted to see you a helpless wreck, without faith in anything. At first I decided to bump you off, but then I thought this would be better. You don't have to cut off a man's balls to make him a wet rag; sometimes it's enough to talk to him and watch him. . . . There's no place to run to. You've turned life into such a big concentration camp that there's no need for barbed wire, guards, watchdogs, and machine guns. It's enough that there are men like you, who believe in something, but not really when you reach their hearts. The rest just follows. . . ."

Hlasko, like Zabawa, has "no faith in faith" of any kind, whether it be political, social, or religious. Unlike Pasternak, who found a solace in the promised paradise of Christianity not having any hope in the earthly "worker's paradise" of the Communist State, Hlasko's writing is unrelieved by any great expectations from this or any other world. His one religious-minded character, an alcoholic Christian called "Apostle," is as hopeless and lost as the rest, and when he dies beneath the murderous weight of a log-filled truck there is no hint or hope of spiritual, any more than of physical, resurrection. The soul, like the body, is crushed beneath the weight of the logs and the world.

Nature Is a Trap

Neither is Hlasko's narrative relieved by any of the descriptive beauty of earth and sky of his native countryside that so often brightens the social and political darkness that suffuses *Dr. Zhivago*. He writes powerful descriptive passages, but their power is oppressive rather than relieving:

The snow was wet and it sprayed from under the wheels. As he drove out of town, and sped along the highway through burned-out empty villages, he saw the sun forcing its way through the mist and adding a golden tinge to the blackened stumps of walls and chimneys that protruded like bones, and empty attics, with their

roofs torn off by bombs. When he drove into the woods, he felt the oppressive dampness of the thawing trees and heard the noisy chirping of the awakened birds. . . .

Nature is not a refuge but another trap: "Partisan," who comes to the camp in the woods to escape the city and be close to the forest he learned so well as a guerilla fighter (when his life had purpose) ends by going back to town, stripped of even his old fond memories of the wilderness. Wanda, the Communist Zabawa's wife, feels that everything would be all right if she could only get out of the woods and into the city, but one of the series of men she attempts to lure into taking her to town explains what would happen if he did:

. . . we'll be in the city a little while, and you'll find a nice young boy for yourself, and you'll go away with him. And you'll have a husband, and home, and everything, and nothing. And then? Then there will be more mountains, and more woods, and something that will be a pain in the neck."

Neither the city nor the country, the here or the hereafter, offers any promise of peace: "Is life really like that? . . . life is worse and filthier than anything you can say about it. . . ."

In this hope-stripped narrative there is often humor, but it is humor born of bitter disillusionment in the reality of the "earthly paradise" and it does not interrupt the mood of despair:

"Logs are needed," Number Nine said. "The working class sent the best of its sons here to haul logs. Shipyards, brothels, cities, factories, and peaceful villages are waiting for these logs to process them creatively into toothpicks, umbrella handles. . . ."

Kafka in the Rain

Hlasko has been called "an angry young man," a term which seems now to be used to identify any male writer under the age of 50 with the exception of Herman Wouk, Sloan Wilson, and Thor Heyerdahl; he is indeed a young man in years (26) but "angry" is too light a word for the indictment he

makes against the Communist State, and indeed, the Twentieth Century. His despair begins with the loss of his faith in the old God of Christianity and the new God of Communism, and it extends and elaborates itself in a nihilism specially suited to this age of the triumphant machine. In a passage of the book in which one of the drivers has careened to his death in the mountains, destroying not only himself but the much-needed James truck that he drove, his companions reflect on the wreckage:

"I'm sorry about it," said Wawrzeciak.

"Could have hung on a long time."

"Had his faults, though."

"You fool—I'm talking about the James."

In a kind of letter to the reader at the end of the book, called "Neither Preface nor Postface," Hlasko explains how he happened to gain the experience that serves as a background to the story, and how "I wrote it out of my great love for the automobile—yes, the automobile—the most beautiful thing invented by Twentieth Century man; the only thing thanks to which it is possible to run away from life, from oneself, and from others."

The Middle Ages had Charters; we have the sedan. Here is the new nihilist, his hands on the steering wheel, his foot on the gas, his eyes on the sign at the curve of the road that says "Next Stop—Paradise." He races toward it without faith or fear, feeling only the fine sensation of motion and the machine.

Hlasko's story is often as frightening and frustrating as the tales of Kafka; the awful realization is that he didn't have to tell it with imaginary bugs or symbolic dreams. The commissars built his "Castle" for him, and it is just as man-defeating as Kafka's. As Hlasko writes at the end of his statement to the reader, "Despite everything, I don't remember when and where it all began; I also know that it has not finished yet. Ask others. They don't have to invent things, and everything that was, is, and will be, will endure in their words and in their hearts—that's what makes the night-are."

Recent and Related

The Politics of Soviet Education, edited by George Z. F. Bereday and Jaan Penner (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 1960, 217 pp., \$6.00). This collection of essays by Russian-speaking specialists grew out of a three-week seminar on Soviet education sponsored by the Institute for the Study of the USSR in Munich. Eleven educators, sociologists, and political scientists attempt to evaluate the educational system in the Soviet Union on the basis of firsthand acquaintance with its various aspects, and by examining the social circumstances in which the education takes place. The book contains the following essays: A General View of Soviet Education; Polytechnical Education and the New Soviet School Reforms; Party Control over Soviet Schools; Class Tensions in Soviet Education; Antireligious Education of Soviet Youth; The Teaching of History in Soviet Schools; A Study in Methods; Notes on Foreign-Language Teaching in the USSR; Extracurricular and Extrascholastic Activities for Soviet School Children; Recent Changes in the Training of Soviet Secondary-School Teachers; Moscow University: The Summit of Soviet Higher Education; Some Sociological Perspectives on Soviet Education.

Democracy is Not Enough, by John Scott (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1960, 186 pp., \$3.95). What can the United States—and its Western allies—do for the hungry world? Is democracy the answer to the hungry world's problems? John Scott, who is an expert on Russia, a reporter, lecturer and writer, and who has travelled extensively all over the world, tries to answer these questions in a popular book devoted to a realistic reappraisal of the situation we face in the underdeveloped nations and territories of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

In his opinion, "countries with per capita incomes under \$200 a year and adult literacy rates under 50 percent cannot be expected to govern themselves democratically." Due to conditions which prevail in the newly developing countries, "some form of dictatorship—or, to use *Pravda's* terminology, 'people's democracy'—may be both understandable and more appropriate than multiparty parliamentary democracy. . . ." Mr. Scott has a list of concrete suggestions as to the attitudes and principles that

should govern the policies of the US towards the world's underdeveloped areas.

The March Wind: Explorations Behind the Iron Curtain, by Desmond Donnelly (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1960, 256 pp., \$3.95). Mr. Donnelly is a Member of Parliament of Irish extraction. His travels in the lands of Communism—he has been to Russia, China, Outer Mongolia, Poland, Czechoslovakia and East Germany—have convinced him that its people are the "Achilles' heel" of the Communist Empire because of their drive and struggle for liberalism. "In the satellites there are very few Communists left. Those that remain are apathetic and disillusioned; or contemptibly craven." The West, he feels, should support and encourage these citizens and "we shall only win this battle if we adhere to truth and reject shallow propaganda." Mr. Donnelly is deeply concerned with the problem of China, where a "colossal explosion" may be in the making within the next few years. He expresses hope that the West—particularly the US—will alter its China policy before it is too late. Mr. Donnelly's account of his travels is entertaining and enlightening. The book is illustrated with photos taken by the author. Index.

The Chinese Family in the Communist Revolution, by C. K. Yang (Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Distributed by Harvard University Press, 1959, 246 pp., \$6.00). In this companion volume to his *A Chinese Village in Early Communist Transition* (*East Europe*, April, 1960), Dr. Yang analyzes the revolutionary transformation of the traditional Chinese society by studying the change of its structural core, the family system. Covering both the pre-Communist and Communist periods, he examines the problems of marriage and divorce, the status of women, the changing family economic structure and the disorganization of the Clan. It appears that the family system has irretrievably lost its position as the core of the Chinese social structure. Dr. Yang, Professor of Sociology at the University of Pittsburgh, was brought up and educated in China. His book is based primarily on Chinese documentary sources. Reference Notes, index.

A European Education, by Romain Gary (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1960, 249 pp., \$3.75). The protagonist of this book is a Polish boy fighting with the partisans in the forests of Eastern Poland during World War II. The characters and episodes described by the author are intended to show man's extraordinary ability to create beauty, heroism and hope even in conditions of stress, cruelty and destruction. Mr. Gary, who is also the author of *The Roots of Heaven* and *Lady L.*, writes: "Mankind is born, but humanity must be created—created with inspiration, with infinite patience and love, as an artist tries to achieve a masterpiece. And men have often died so that the myth might come true. . . . We still are, and will be for a long time, condemned to heroism."

Russia at the Dawn of the Modern Age, by George Vernadsky (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1959, 347 pp., \$7.50). In this volume Dr. Vernadsky, professor emeritus of Russian history at Yale University, deals with Russia in the post-Mongol period. Moscow's emancipation from Mongol control in the middle of the 15th century cleared the way for the consolidation and expansion of the Muscovite state. The process of unification of Great Russia, achieved under Ivan III and Vasili III, is described in Chapters 2-5. The last three chapters deal with the political and social organization of West Russia in the 16th century, the struggle between Moscow and Poland, the rise of the Ukrainian Cossacks in the late 16th century, and the Church Union of 1596. Genealogical Tables, bibliography, index.

Khrushchev's Russia, by Edward Crankshaw (Baltimore, Md.: Penguin Books Inc., 1960, 175 pp., 85¢). The nature of the society which is emerging under Stalin's successors in Russia, and the problems it faces, is the subject of this compact book by Edward Crankshaw, the London *Observer's* well-known Russian correspondent. He writes about the realities of present day life in the Soviet Union, the material progress and internal aims of the country, and the role of Khrushchev, whom he considers an excellent and practical administrator. In the appendix he gives an interesting account of the Pasternak affair. Index.



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